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Autobiography

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# AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

## A Collection

OF THE

MOST INSTRUCTIVE AND AMUSING

## LIVES

EVER PUBLISHED,

WRITTEN BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES.

WITH BRIEF INTRODUCTIONS, AND COMPENDIOUS SEQUELS  
CARRYING ON THE COURSE OF EVENTS TO THE  
DEATH OF EACH WRITER.

VOLUME V.—ROBERT DRURY.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER, TREACHER, AND ARNOT,  
AVE-MARIA-LANE.

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MDCCCXXI.

**LONDON.**  
**PRINTED BY W. CLOWES,**  
**Stamford-street.**

THE  
PLEASANT AND SURPRISING  
ADVENTURES  
OF  
ROBERT DRURY,  
DURING HIS  
FIFTEEN YEARS' CAPTIVITY  
ON THE  
ISLAND OF MADAGASCAR.  
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

LONDON:  
WHITTAKER, TREACHER, AND ARNOT,  
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## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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AMONG the various attractions of "Autobiography," that of singular and extraordinary personal adventure, when faithfully related by the person to whom it has occurred, is by no means the least alluring. The shipwreck of Robert Drury, at the age of sixteen, in the Degrave East Indiaman, on the southern coast of the island of Madagascar, in the year 1702, supplied a remarkable opportunity for one of those accurate delineations of an isolated and barbarous people, which are at once so amusing for their novelty, and instructive for the additional lights which they throw upon the innumerable varieties of human situation and character. The following volume affords a plain and unsophisticated account of a fifteen years' captivity or detention of the author (the only one spared in consequence of his youth out of many murdered shipmates) in an island, the interior of which, at that time, was little known; but which, happily, at present seems likely to enter slowly into the career of civilization. Obligated to conform to the usages of the natives, and rendered to all intents and purposes a member of their community, he necessarily became intimately acquainted with their manners, customs, and proceedings; which, together with his own adventures among them, he narrates in that plain and unpretending manner, which in a writer of his class advances the strongest claims to confidence. The veracity of Drury is, indeed, corroborated by the journal, as far as it went, of Mr Bembo, son of the celebrated admiral of that name, who was first mate of the Degrave, and who, by inducing a part of the crew to refuse putting that trust in the islanders, which was unfortunately placed in them by the murdered companions of Drury, escaped their fate, and was enabled to

get back to England. Our brief sequel will also show that Drury was a steady man, and that he maintained a very respectable character after his return. To conclude: his book has been deemed so curious and interesting, not only for the mention of the facts but the manner of detailing them, that the present will form the *fourth* edition; the first appearing in 1729, and the second and third in 1743 and 1808. Thus much as to its merits; as to the rest, works of this nature falling directly within the plan of the proposed series, no apology is necessary for having an early recourse to one of them in aid of the contrast and variety which is desirable in the way of support and relief of so comprehensive an undertaking.

# PREFACE

TO

*The Edition of Seventeen Hundred and Forty-three.*

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As nothing is of a more amiable nature, so nothing makes a stronger and more lasting impression on the mind, than truth; and whatever regard some may pay to a wittily-contrived and ingenious tale, the best that can be said of it is, that it is a gay delusion, and an idle amusement exposed to view in the fairest and most advantageous light.

The following historical narrative needs no such disguise or ornament to recommend it; for captain W. Macket, (who, by his certificate, has assured the public that he believed the account our author has given of his surprising adventures to be just and true,) was not only a gentleman of an unblemished character in regard to his honour and veracity, but well known to be a man of too great a fortune and good sense to countenance and give a public sanction to a trivial fable, or imposition. Without doubt this gentleman, as well as the captains of other ships, informed himself of a case so singular and surprising, for at Yong-old, where he took the author on board, William Purser, a native of Feraingher, was their linguist for some months; he spoke English well, and knew Mr Drury there, and was an eye-witness to many of the most doubtful adventures here related for several years together.

The captain after this went to Munnorgaro, or Mas saleege; there he saw Nicholas Dove, who was one of

the boys shipwrecked in the Degrave, and saved in the massacre in Anterndroea; besides the opportunity he had of conversing with Mr Drury in their voyage to the West Indies, and after to England. To this we may add, the second voyage Mr Drury made was also in captain Macket's service, though not in the ship under his command, he being a principal proprietor in captain White's ship and cargo, as well as of his own and others. These circumstances were confirmed by the captain, who added, that he had seen others in his last voyage there, as well natives who spoke English, and knew Drury, as some who were saved by flight with captain Drummond and others, with this particular account, that this very captain Drummond was the man Mr Drury supposes him to be, and that he was killed at Tullea, seven leagues to the northward of Augustine-bay, by one Lewes, a Jamaica negro. Besides all this, and the captain's continued friendship to him to the last, even our author himself, though in a lower station of life, was well known to many persons of probity and worth now in London, who frequently conversed with him while living, and who always esteemed him an innocent, inoffensive man, free from all artifice and design. As this was the character he had amongst his friends and acquaintance, we think it would be needless, if not impertinent, to doubt of his veracity in the relation of any one of his adventures, more especially after such substantial proofs for the truth hereof.

It is probable that the account here given of the religion of the natives of Madagascar, may by some be thought a mere fiction, and inserted with no other view than to advance some latitudinarian principles; but so widely distant is this from the real case, that the most to be suspected part of the conversation between deaan Murnanzack and Mr Drury, on divine topics, is real fact as here related; and the deaan's ludicrous reflections on Adam's rib, God's converse with mankind, and his creation of the world in six days, and his resting the seventh, &c. his taking these things for

Drury's childish notions, and saying they were old women's stories, were delivered in that prince's own words. And if we consider the then circumstances of our author, that he was but fourteen years of age when he set out on this unfortunate voyage, his education at a grammar-school, and in the principles of the established church; and that ever since his arrival in England, and settlement in London, he has been firmly attached thereto, even to bigotry; it would be very weak and absurd to suppose him capable, or inclined to advance an imaginary conference with the deaan upon so serious a topic, with no other motive than to favour free-thinking, or natural religion, in opposition to that which was revealed, especially as they are points about which he scarcely ever concerned himself.

In all those places where religion, or the origin of governments are casually mentioned, there are interspersed some occasional reflections, which are not, properly speaking, the author's, which is all the artifice made use of throughout the whole. It must be owned that topics so entertaining could not well be passed over, without making some proper and useful applications: yet no motive, how tempting soever, could prevail on the editor to alter any real fact, or add any one single fiction of his own. Every transaction here related, as likewise the character and conversation of every person introduced, are properly Mr Drury's own.

The religion of the natives of Madagascar, some authors will have to be Mahometanism; but without any manner of grounds for such a conclusion, since it has no resemblance of it in any other particulars, than in circumcision, and abstaining from their women at certain times, which were common to some eastern nations long before the Jews had it; or, indeed, where there is no reason to imagine that the name of the Jews was once so much as heard of.

There are good grounds, on the other hand, to conjecture, that the Jews derived several of their religious ceremonies from them. For that their religion is much more ancient, is plain from several reasons. First, from

their regard to dreams, and divining by them, which, by the Mosaic law, the Israelites were expressly forbidden. Secondly, from their shaving off their hair in mourning for their dead; whereas among the Jews the growth of it is strictly commanded, and as superstitiously observed to this day. Thirdly, from their sacrifices; as Moses commanded none but males to be sacrificed; so, on the contrary, cows are the greatest part of the Madagascar sacrifices, and are thought by these people to be the most acceptable oblations to their Supreme Deity. They have no burnt offerings but near their sepulchres, when occasionally opened, which, with the gums burnt with them, serve for a defence against all ill scents. Fourthly; but the most notable reason of all is, that the owley, which these Madagascar people make use of for their divinations, and procure their unusual or extraordinary dreams with, is manifestly the ephod and teraphim, made use of by the Levite who lodged in Micah's house, as we read Judges xvii. and from which the Israelites could never be wholly brought off, though directly repugnant to the law of Moses, concerning which there seems to be no occasion for enlarging farther in this place.

That the people of Madagascar did not derive their religion from any learned or polite nation, is evident by their retaining no idea or remembrance of letters; nor their having a horse, or so necessary a machine as a wheel of any kind, either for carriage or use, which could never have been forgotten had they ever had them. That these Madagascar people came first from Africa, seems most probable by their colour; and perhaps from the Abyssines, or even from Egypt. The Virzimbers, indeed, by their woolly heads, must come from the more southern part of Africa. Deaan Tokeoffu told captain Macket they had a tradition of their coming on the island many years ago in large canoes. But from wheresoever they came, it is manifest that their religion is the most ancient in the world, and not far from pure natural religion.

We may reflect with pleasure on the devotion of these

people, who address the Supreme Being on every occasion for his aid and assistance when in necessity or distress; and with true piety and hearts full of gratitude return him their humble and unfeigned thanks for those blessings and benefits he confers upon them; yet have they no temples, no tabernacles, or groves for the public performance of their divine worship; neither have they solemn fasts, or festivals, or set days, or times, or priests to do it for them. But we may here observe, that as Melchizedek was a king, and stiled the priest of the most high God, (a phrase strictly correspondent to that of deaan Unghorray, the highest God,) so it is the practice of the Madagascar kings, or lords, to be themselves the performers of all religious offices. Their umossees or prophets, indeed, directed the making their owleys of particular roots, or woods, having, as they tell them, magical properties agreeing to the spirits; as also that they must be made at proper times.

There are two things in this history highly worthy of observation: one is, that there is a law among them against cursing a man's parents. What a reproach is this to countries called christian, where there is no law or punishment against even those who have the impudence and impiety not only of cursing others, but their own parents. The other is, that such is their regard and reverence to the most high God, that they swear not profanely: but such is the profaneness of even our christian nation, that a man can hardly pass the streets (as archbishop Tillotson observes) without having his ears grated and pierced with horrid and blasphemous oaths and curses, as are enough, if we were guilty of no other sin, to sink a nation. These give reputation to the general character of these people, that where the Europeans or Mahometans have not corrupted them, they are very innocent, moral, and courteous; and more so, with shame be it spoken, than most nations, who have all the advantages of a liberal and christian education.

There is yet one observation more, which, we hope,

will not be thought improper here; which is, that our author's many deliverances are glorious and wonderful displays of the goodness and power of Divine Providence; and gave him, no doubt, an awakening sense of his obstinate disobedience to the will and entreaties of his tender parents and friends, who so much and often pressed him to lay aside those wilful resolutions of his first voyage to the East Indies; wherein we may see the marks both of divine displeasure and goodness, the first in his shipwreck and slavery, the other in his delivery or release from thence. All which may serve as a lesson to the youth of future generations to beware, lest by their disobedience and obstinate forcing of themselves from the care of their parents or friends, they bring upon themselves those miseries and misfortunes which occasion a too late repentance.

Much more might have been said on this occasion, but as we have not room, we refer our readers to the perusal of the book itself; in which, we presume, they will not only find an entertaining, but profitable amusement.

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This is to certify, that Robert Drury, fifteen years a slave in Madagascar, now living in London, was redeemed from thence, and brought into England, his native country, by myself. I esteem him an honest, industrious man, of good reputation, and do firmly believe that the account he gives of his strange and surprising adventures is genuine and authentic.

WILLIAM MACKETT.

*May 7, 1728.*



THE  
ADVENTURES  
OF  
ROBERT DRURY.

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As my design in the ensuing narrative, is to give a plain and honest account of matters of fact, I shall make use of no artful inventions, or borrowed phrases, to lengthen or embellish it; nor shall I introduce any other reflections, than what were the natural result of my many uncommon and surprising adventures. And,

Here, I hope, it will be no ways improper to inform my readers, that I was not fourteen years of age when these heavy misfortunes first befell me; so that my youth, as well as want of knowledge in the Madagascar language, rendered me incapable of making such curious observations, as one of a riper age, better judgment, and freed from slavery, might have done to much greater advantage. For,

I, Robert Drury, was born on the 24th of July, in the year 1687, in Crutched-friars, London, where my father then lived; but soon after he removed to the Old Jury, near Cheapside, where he kept for several years afterwards that noted house, called the King's-head, or otherwise distinguished by the name of the Beef-steak-house; and to which there was, all his time, a great resort of merchants, and other gentlemen of the best rank and character.

Notwithstanding the education my father bestowed on me, I could not be prevailed on to think of any business but going to sea, to which course of life my genius wholly inclined me. And I well remember, that from eleven years of age, my mind was so intent on the profession of a sailor, that it grew up with me, and at length became such an obstinate resolution, that not all the entreaties of my dear and indulgent mother, (though she once begged me on her knees,) nor the persuasions of my father, or any other friends, could make the least impression upon me.

When they found their endeavours were ineffectual, they then formed a new scheme, and by a seeming compliance with my inclination, proposed to procure a short voyage for me, hoping that the many dangers and hardships to which I should naturally be exposed, and should see others undergo, would deter me from persevering in that course of life.

But, as wilful persons never want woe, such was my obstinacy, that nothing would content me, but what contributed to my ruin; and Providence justly frustrated all my hopes, by indulging me in the choice I had so foolishly and ungratefully made, in direct opposition to my duty, and the repeated solicitations of my most affectionate friends: thus did this perverseness of mine bring with it its own punishment. Nothing but an East India voyage would please me; for no other reason that I can think of, but because I had a cousin at Bengal, whose name was John Steel, in the New East India Company's service; the companies at that time not being united.

My father showed a due care and concern for my welfare, by the manner in which he fitted me out; and by plentifully supplying me with provisions, clothes, and other necessaries for the voyage; besides which, I had a cargo to the value of a hundred pounds, which was a large trust for a boy of my age. I went as a passenger, well recommended to captain William Younge, with whom my passage and the freight of my cargo were agreed for, and we soon after embarked.

The ship captain Younge commanded in this unfortunate voyage, was the *Degrave*, of seven hundred tons burthen, with fifty-two guns. I shall not here enter into a long detail of any of the common occurrences of the voyage, or take notice of any other accidents, than what are absolutely necessary to my present purpose; which is a true and impartial narrative of our hard fate at Madagascar in our return homeward; together with my own miseries, and the various turns of fortune, during my residence for near fifteen years, in that scarce known, though extensive country.

We passed through the Downs on February 19, 1701, when admiral Bembo, (whose son, Mr John Bembo, was fourth mate of our ship,) lay there with the squadron of ships under his command, bound to the West Indies, and we arrived at Fort St. George in the East Indies, in three months and twenty days from the Downs, having stopped in our passage one week at the Canaries, and came to an anchor in the evening.

We had on board Monsieur Lapie, a jeweller, and his son, who set out with design to settle there; and one would have thought, being so near the end of his voyage, he had great reason to hope, or rather to be morally assured, that he had obtained his desire; the ship being safe at anchor within half a dozen miles, and in sight of the place. But how soon does Providence disappoint us, and interrupt our designs! What an adverse fate directed, and accompanied this unhappy ship, and all who were concerned in it, though so near the accomplishment of their wishes!

The barge was hoisted out the next morning, in order to put these unfortunate persons on shore; the ship riding about two leagues distance. They put off, and we did not expect their return till the next day; but about eight o'clock at night we heard somebody hail the ship; it surprised our people, but some of them soon knew it to be the voice of Joseph Chamberlain, one of the barge's crew. They thereupon hoisted out the pinnace, and rowing towards the voice, found him swimming on an oar; he told us, that as soon as they

came to the bar, a great sea struck them on the larboard gunnel, and overset them; he knew not what became of the rest of the company, and therefore supposed they were all drowned, for the current set to seaward; but he being an experienced swimmer, and with the help of one of the boat's oars, which he providentially found, he made shift to reach within call of the ship. We immediately hung a light on the top-mast head to guide others, if happily any had been like him alive swimming; but not one of them was ever seen, or heard of more. Mr John Lapie, his son, and their cook, the cockswain, and nine of the boat's crew, all perished through this sad disaster. They had also with them very considerable effects in goods, silver, &c. to the value of some thousands of pounds.

Two days after we weighed anchor, and sailed to Maslapatan, where we stayed a month, and from thence proceeded to Bengal. My cousin hearing of my arrival, came on board to see me, and take me and my effects on shore with him; but my father had a more prudent regard for my welfare, than I could be capable of at those tender years; my cousin being only a pilot, my father desired captain Younge privately to inquire into his circumstances, and the character he bore, and in case he found him not of sufficient ability, or honesty, to be intrusted with me, and my effects, not to let me go on shore to him.

The captain performed the trust my father reposed in him with honour and integrity, and would not permit me to go with my kinsman, but took my cargo, disposed of it himself, and bought me a just return in the commodities of the country, and would have carried me back again according to his contract with my father, had Providence so thought fit. My cousin soon after our arrival, died, and we had a great mortality among our ship's crew; for in nine months' time, we buried above forty of our people. The chief mate was the first of note, and about a month after him, captain Younge himself died of a fever; happy at least in this, that he died in peace, and lived not to bear his share

in the miseries which his son and we afterwards underwent; for this son being second mate, and the chief mate being already dead, as also the captain his father, he became captain of course, so that there was still a captain Younge.

The only art I attained at Bengal, and which proved of any considerable service to me afterwards, was, that I here learnt to swim, which has two or three times since saved my life and liberty. I attained to so great a proficiency in that art, by the assistance of my companions, that it was a common practice for half-a-dozen of us to tie a rupee apiece (which is about the value of two shillings and sixpence English,) in a handkerchief round our middles, and swim four or five miles up or down the river for our diversion; and when we came on shore, the Gentees, or Moors, would lend us clothes to put on while we stayed; thus we used to sit and regale ourselves for a few hours with arrack punch, and a dinner, and then swim back again.

Our business being at length finished at Bengal, we sailed from thence, and had at that time about one hundred and twenty hands on board, besides two women and myself, and a few other passengers. As we were going down the river, our ship ran aground and stuck fast; but there being a very strong tide, it turned her round, and we got off the next high water without any damage, as we imagined; but when we came out to sea, she proved so very leaky, that we were obliged to keep two chain-pumps continually at work. We were two months in this sad condition; at length we reached Mauritius, which is an island in the latitude of  $16\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  south, and to the eastward of Madagascar, inhabited by the Dutch, who treated us with abundance of humanity, and assisted us with whatever was in their power. We made a tent on shore, in which we stowed great part of our cargo to search for the leak—but to no purpose.

Captain Boon, a pirate, had been here about two months before, having just then plundered a very rich Moorish ship, and taken out of her fifty Lascars. (For

that is the name by which our English seamen distinguish these Moorish people.) Boon lost his own ship on this island, and the pirates were glad to make a small sloop of their long-boat to get off the island with, and were therefore glad to leave the Lascars behind them. These people we took with us, thinking they would be of service, and save our hands from returning so often to the pump; they having for two months before but little rest.

We found here plenty of good fish, turtle, and goats, with some beef; we stayed about a month, and then shaped our course directly for the Cape of Good Hope.

Our leak gained upon us more and more, and it was with great difficulty we kept her above water. Our men were all spent with continual labour, pumping and bailing night and day; when according to our reckoning we were one hundred leagues to the southward of Madagascar. We heaved overboard several of our guns and heavy goods to lighten her. The captain was for continuing his course to the Cape, but the ship's company in general opposed it; being of opinion that they could not keep her above water long enough, imagining they were at that time about six hundred leagues from it, and but one hundred from Madagascar, which was the nearest land.

At length they prevailed on the captain, though with much difficulty, to put back to Madagascar. The wind favouring us, the third day in the morning they sent me and the captain's boy up to the mast-head to look out for land, since nobody else could so well be spared. In such apparent danger, my being a passenger was no excuse; and, accordingly, I went up and sat there two hours and a half before I could discern any thing like land; and when I first saw it I told my comrade, but not being certain, I would not call out, for the case was of such importance, that they were not to be trifled with, or flattered into vain hopes. However, at length, I plainly discovered a white cliff and a smoke at a distance from it, whereupon I boldly cried out land! land!

Several immediately ran up the shrouds, and even

the captain himself to make his observations. One among them knew the land, and said it was Port Dauphine; and that the king of that part of the island was an enemy to all white men, and treated all the Europeans in a most barbarous manner. The reason whereof, and a succinct history of king Samuel, (for that was his name,) I shall have occasion to mention hereafter. This information put us into the utmost confusion and despair, and proved, indeed, our utter ruin. The man who made this report, spoke his real sentiments; for they were, indeed, enemies to the French, and had murdered all they could find on the island, in revenge for an affront some of that country had formerly given to king Samuel, but to no other white men; so that had we put in there, we had at least saved our lives, and some of our cargo; but our fate was fixed, and we were destined to be destroyed in the most tragical manner, and all our endeavours to save our lives served only to prolong our misery.

We durst not put into Port Dauphine, for fear of falling immediately into the hands of these revengeful and bloody murderers, as we then concluded them to be. We could not get to the northward, the wind being north-east; neither was there any harbour or port to the westward, but what was a week's sail, at least, to it! Besides the western shore is very steep.

Hereupon the captain resolved to steer along the western coast, and see if he could find a proper place to run her into, or put ashore with safety of our lives. At length we drew near the shore, but no place could be found; and our hold being now half full of water, the men went to the captain and asked him what he proposed to do, for the ship could swim no longer. He went into the round-house for a few minutes, and when he came out, he asked them if they approved of his running the ship on shore at all adventures; to which they all unanimously agreed, and cried out, "Any thing to save our lives." Now here was a sand which ran along for two leagues; we came within a quarter of a



mile of the shore, and let go an anchor first without the breakers, and then cut down our masts and rigging, and threw our guns and heaviest goods overboard, and tried all means to keep her up till we could get on shore. Having lost our long-boat and pinnace at Bengal, we had but one small boat left, for which reason we made a raft with some planks and yards.

At that time some of the natives were fishing, who, seeing us in distress, made a smoke to guide and invite us to shore; but we had entertained such a bad idea of them, that we could not tell presently how to determine, though we were informed these were another prince's dominions.

We finished the raft that night, and in the morning sent Mr Pratt, our chief mate, and four men in the boat with a long rope for a warp, to fasten on the land. A great sea constantly runs here upon the rocks, and before they got to land their boat was staved in pieces; however, being pretty near it, by the help of some of the natives, who were negroes, they saved that part of the boat to which the rope was fastened. We had two English women on board, one of them would not venture on the raft, nor would the captain, but the other woman, and about forty or fifty of us did. I stript off all my clothes, but took two purses of money and a silver cup, and tied them fast round my middle; we hauled by the rope towards the shore, but were no sooner among the breakers, than the first sea turned the raft topsy turvy, and washed us off; some swam to the raft again, but were soon washed off, and though the woman was drowning just by me, yet I could not save her. I sunk under every wave, and with great difficulty got on shore, as did every one else that were on the raft, but the woman. There was such a surf ran, and the sea broke so high, that we durst not venture out with the raft again; which the captain perceiving, ordered the cable to be cut, and let the ship drive nearer the land, where she soon beat to pieces. The captain got on shore with his father's heart in his hand, which,



according to his request, when dying, was put into a bottle in order to be brought to England, and buried at Dover.

At length they all got on shore on pieces of the ship, planks, &c. two men only excepted, who were drowned, and the woman before-mentioned. The other woman escaped, though she was so full of water as well as some others, that we were obliged to roll and rub them well, to make them disgorge the water; we laid them also before a great fire made for that purpose, and in a little time they revived. We were, in all, above one hundred and sixty, including the Lascars.

The country began now to be alarmed, and we had already two or three hundred negroes flocking round us, picking up several pieces of silk and fine calicoes; the muslin they had little or no regard for. Our goods were driven ashore in whole bales, for what with saltpetre and other things, we reckoned there might be three hundred tons left, after all that was thrown overboard at sundry times before.

One of the negroes brought an ox to us, and intimated, by signs, that we should kill him; but we made signs to them again to shoot him for us, we having no ammunition; when one of them perceived this, he lent us his gun ready charged, and with it one of our men shot the bullock dead on the spot.

It was extremely shocking to see the negroes cut the beast, skin, and flesh together, and sometimes the guts too, then toss them into the fire, or ashes, as it happened, and eat them half roasted. I shuddered for fear they should devour us in like manner, for they seemed to me to be a kind of cannibals, of whom I had heard very dreadful stories. Every thing, in short, appeared horrible to nature, and excited in us the most dismal apprehensions.

If I here discovered some greater concern than became a man, I hope my tender years, my little knowledge, and less experience, will plead in my behalf. This tragical scene made such a deep impression on me, that as often as it occurs to my mind, I start, and

am shocked with the frightful remembrance. If my observations are not so many, or so just and judicious as they should be, they must be considered as the reflections of a youth, and not of a man; for as I grew in years, it will appear I increased in knowledge and courage, was capable of making more solid remarks, and also of engaging in more bold and hazardous adventures.

While the negroes were busy in opening our bales and taking what they liked best, I observed several of them regarded the iron they found, much more than all those goods we looked upon as valuable, and took a great deal of pains to break all such pieces of timber as had iron in them. I broke open my chest and took out only one suit of clothes, leaving the rest to those who had most mind to them.

We remained thus two days and nights without coming to any final resolution, not knowing what to do. We were told Port Dauphine was but sixty miles from us, but the idea we had entertained of their being such a barbarous people, prevented our going thither; but this debate was soon put an end to by the dean (or as our English sailors call him king) of that part of the country.

For the next evening about nine o'clock, we heard a man call out "Halloo," at a great distance, like an Englishman, as he proved to be, who, being immediately answered, came nearer, and asked who we were. We told him the crew of an English East India ship, which proved so leaky, that we were obliged to run her in here, as the first land we could make for the preservation of our lives. Hereupon he came to us, and at our request sat down with us by our fire, and told the captain that the king had sent him to inform us we had no reason to be under any fearful apprehensions, though we were in a strange country, and that he would come down himself the next day to pay us a visit. The captain desired him to give us what account he could of the country and the natives, and also to inform us how he came there. We all crowded about him, not so

much out of a spirit of curiosity as to be able, by his relation, to form a better judgment of our happy or unhappy situation. The circumstances of his story were so very remarkable, and of so great importance to us, that I dare say I can repeat them almost in his own words, which were as follows :—

“I am an Englishman, born in the county of Middlesex; my parents, and every body who should have taken care of me, being dead, I went to sea very young. My first voyage was to the West Indies, but as I found little or no encouragement there, I resolved to take a trip to the East Indies, and in my passage thither, our ship was taken by a pirate about a hundred leagues to the eastward of this island; they plundered her of all her rigging, ammunition, and provisions; they took me and nine more out of her, and then left the ship. During the time I was with them, they took several rich prizes, and since there was no possibility of avoiding it, I seemingly approved of all they did, and made one amongst them. Whenever we wanted refreshments, we resorted to this island, where we seldom failed of a supply. However, I soon grew weary of these piratical proceedings, and being at anchor in Mattatan Road, where the canoes came off as usual to sell us rice, plantains, milk, and honey, &c., for our boat could not go ashore, such a great sea breaking upon the strand; I took this favourable opportunity to feign myself very sick and weak, and accordingly sent word to the captain, (whose name I must not divulge, being sworn to the contrary,) of my ill state of health; and thereupon, I entreated him to let me go on shore, in hope the land air might refresh me, to which request he readily consented. I dressed myself, and took with me as much gold and other valuable things as I could possibly put into my pockets; but intrusted no one with my secret resolution, since there was not a man on board who showed the least inclination to leave their dangerous and villainous engagements. I stepped into the canoe with all the satisfaction imaginable, thinking

myself much more happy in this country, barbarous and savage as it is, than with my former wicked companions. The captain, indeed, sent a canoe for me, but as I sent word that I was not capable of going to sea any more, he never sent again.

After I had been here about three months, captain Drummond, a Scotchman, came in a merchant ship, to trade about the island; but in less than three days after his arrival, a pirate took him as he rode at anchor: however, he gave captain Drummond his own long-boat, and a few necessaries. One captain Steward being with captain Drummond, the pirate permitted him and three or four more hands to go ashore; and as the sea, at that time, was very calm, they all landed very safe. Here was at the same time another Englishman and his wife, who came from Sancta Maria, who were companions for me. When we saw the long-boat come on shore, and the ship sail away, we guessed how the case stood, and went to meet them, and gave them a friendly invitation to our cottages, which were a mile from the seaside. My companion and his wife were, I own, better provided to entertain them than myself. However, as we could all speak enough of the country language to deal with the natives for what we wanted, we were very serviceable to our new comers.

Captain Drummond being very much dejected at the loss of his ship, and his melancholy situation, resolved, if possible, to get to St Augustine's Bay, which is a place where ships frequently come to get water and fresh provisions. He asked us if we were willing to go with him, to which proposition we readily assented. In a week's time we had got provisions enough, such as beef, rice, water, and fuel; and got our long-boat in good repair. We were nine in all with my companion's wife, and a negro.

For three or four days we sailed along the shore, and got to the southward of Port Dauphine, but at last the wind shifted, and blowed so hard we could sail no longer; so that in short, we drove on shore within three

or four leagues of the place where we are at present. We saved all our lives, with our money, guns, powder, shot, &c. but the long-boat was staved in pieces.

The natives, who lived near the sea, perceiving our distressed condition, came down to succour us, and carried us up to their town; for they found we had a smattering of their language; and as we had a negro with us they were no way afraid, though they never saw any white men before: nay, they were so civil, that we wanted for nothing with which they could assist us. However, they soon sent up into the country to inform their dean, or king, of our arrival; who sent his son, and a commanding officer with fifty men to bring us up before him. Though they were all armed with guns and lances, yet we refused to go with them, and were as resolute as we durst be in opposing them: but they soon made themselves masters of our ammunition.

Captain Drummond was for defending ourselves to the last extremity, and not to deliver up our arms; but being fully persuaded, that it was impossible to get off from them by force, on account of their number, I advised him to comply; and see if we could not obtain our desires by softer measures. We told them we desired to go to Port Dauphine, (St Augustine's Bay being too far for us to travel by land,) but in short, we could not prevail; for they obliged us to go with them.

We made it three days' journey to the place of their king's residence: when we came there, and were carried before him, he was drinking toake, (which is made of honey and water like mead;) his sons and generals were with him, and all perfectly merry. He asked captain Drummond to drink, but the captain, pretending to be sick, refused it. I was their interpreter; the king bid me tell him, he should want for nothing the country afforded. The captain desired I would return for answer, that as he wanted to be in his own country, he begged he might be permitted to go where we might get shipping.

On this the king, with a stern aspect, replied, let the captain be informed, if he does not know when he is well used, I do; there are several kings on this island, who have white men among them, and why shall not I? Since our gods have been so good as to send you here, you shall never go with my consent, as long as I govern here.

Upon this, captain Drummond's colour rose, and looking sternly at the king, let him know (said he to me) that had I suspected this beforehand, he should never have seen my face alive; I would have sent some of their black souls to hell. It is not their gods but fortune that has put me into his power, and the same fortune may again deliver me out of it. Hereupon he got up without taking his leave, and went to our cottage. I stayed long enough to tell the king what he had said, and without waiting for an answer, got up, and followed the captain.

The king seeing captain Drummond go away in a passion, in order to appease him, sent one of his generals with an ox for us to kill; and desired the captain to make himself easy, since both he and his friends should be well provided for; if we could eat an ox every day we should be welcome to it. The captain sent my companion's wife, whose name was Deude, with a compliment to the king, and to return him thanks for the care he took to provide so plentifully for our support; but withal to tell him, we did not think life worth preserving without the freedom of enjoying it; and if we were not permitted to go home to our native country, no indulgence whatsoever could make us easy.

In this state we continued about a fortnight, before we made any attempt to escape; but at last, considering we were about five days' journey from Port Dauphine, we agreed to go thither; to steal away by night, and get what provision we thought proper: as to ammunition, or arms, we had none, nor could we get any: except that my companion had two pocket pistols, which the natives had not discovered when they

plundered us; and the country being woody, we thought we should be able to conceal ourselves well enough.

According to this resolution, on a moonlight night, we got out of the town undiscovered; and were soon among the thickets. By daylight, however, they missed us; and the news being carried to the king, he ordered us to be pursued. They soon tracked us, for our shoes distinguished our footing, and came up with us before night; but as they knew we had nothing to defend ourselves, they did not offer any violence to us; but only told us we must go back with them to their king. Captain Drummond peremptorily declared, that we would not go back. When they saw our resolution, and that fair words were ineffectual, they then took hold of us. My companion, not having his hands secured, took out his pistols, and wounded one of them. They seemed enraged at this action, however they did nothing more than bind us, till they had made a strict search for more pistols; but finding no more, they marched back with us to their king. As soon as he saw us, he looked upon us with a frowning and menacing aspect, and having but one eye and thin jaws, his countenance seemed still more terrible. He bid me tell the captain and all of them, that if ever we offered to run away again, he would make us dearly repent it. As to the man who was wounded, though we were apprehensive of being called to account for it, neither he nor any one else said any thing about the matter.

This was about two months ago; since that time nothing remarkable has happened, till yesterday news came of your being cast away; and the king immediately ordered me down with the message I have delivered to you from him. My friends are guarded for fear they should make their escape, and come to you; as for my own part, I endeavour to sooth him and tell him I will remain with him as long as I live; and he puts some confidence in me. This, sir, is a short, but true narrative of the miseries and misfortunes



we are under ; and which, I am afraid, will be more now our numbers are increased.

Sam having made an end of his story, to which every body listened with the utmost attention, we parted and went with heavy hearts to our respective quarters, which were under the bushes. It was very late, and we endeavoured to repose ourselves as well as we could ; the pieces of muslin served us to spread on the ground for beds ; but as for my own part, I could not close my eyes to rest. I now began to reflect on my former obstinacy and perverseness ; the thought of my tender mother's begging me on her knees not to go to sea, gave me the most distracting torture. I could now see my error and repent ; but who could I blame but myself ? Here were many poor men, who had no other way to live ; but I was reduced to no such necessity : I ran headlong into misery, and severely felt the effects of it. Tears I shed in plenty ; but could not with any justice, complain of fate or Providence ; for my punishment was but the natural result of my own ill conduct.

We were all up by daylight, and most of my fellow-sufferers got as little rest as I ; for the man's relation had made us give over all hopes of relief, and nothing but sorrow, distress, and despair appeared in all its dismal forms in each man's face, according to his different constitution. We could save neither arms nor ammunition, the want of which completed our ruin ; for near one hundred and seventy of us would have made our way through that part of the country we wanted to travel, had we but wherewithal to defend ourselves ; but fate had ordained it otherwise, which was in all respects as bad as bad could be. So that we had only our lives left us, for no other purpose than to be conscious of pain, misery, and perpetual slavery ; which was no more than we could reasonably expect.

About one o'clock in the afternoon, the king came down with about two hundred negroes. They brought no fire-arms with them, lest we should seize them by force ; but they were armed with lances. As soon as



we saw them approaching us, we all stood together in a body, with our captain at the head of us. When they drew near, he called Sam, which was the man's name he sent to us, and asked him, who was our captain? As soon as he was informed, he came up to him and took him by the hand, and said in a familiar manner, "salamonger, captain;" which is a term of salutation, much like our saying "your servant, sir." The captain returned the compliment; Sam having informed him before in what manner he should behave himself to the king. His majesty brought with him four large bullocks, six calabashes of toake, ten baskets of potatoes, and ten pots of honey; all which he presented to our captain, and gave us moreover two or three earthen pots to dress our victuals in: we immediately roasted the potatoes. He stayed two hours with us, before he withdrew to the cottage, where he proposed to lodge that night; and asked several questions about our ship, and the manner of her being lost. He told the captain he was heartily sorry for his misfortunes, though in my opinion that was nothing but a compliment; for as I found afterwards, he was more brutish and dishonest, than most of the other kings on the island; and his whole nation was clothed for many years out of the effects they saved from our wreck. At this time he took no notice to our captain of carrying us up to his own residence.

The next morning he paid us another visit, and then he told us that he expected we should prepare to go along with him to his town; and there we should want for nothing the country could afford us. Captain Younge ordered the interpreter to acquaint the king, that he returned him a thousand thanks for the civilities he had already received; and that he was not only unable to make him satisfaction, but very unwilling to put him to further trouble, and charge of maintaining so great a number of people. The king replied, that if we were as many more he should not think us either a burthen or a charge; since he should look upon it as an honour to have so many white men in his dominions.

The captain, by this last artful speech, perceived his whole intention ; which shocked him to that degree, that he could scarce tell what to say to him ; but after a little reflection, and looking wishfully on Sam, he directed him to say that we have wives, children, and relations, who are impatient to see us, and we are as desirous of seeing them ; that it was impossible for us to live here always ; and for that reason, we begged he would permit us to go to some port where we might meet with ships and return to our native country. The king paused awhile before he made any reply ; but at length he ordered Sam to tell us, that we should stay in his country till some ships should come there to trade ; and that then we should go home. The captain knowing there was no port in his dominions, nor any harbour for a ship to put into, took it to be artifice all, and a mere compliment, for we might stay for ever before a ship came there with the view he proposed. He therefore desired Sam to tell him he would think of it, and return an answer the next day ; upon this the king departed and gave us no farther trouble at that time.

As soon as he was gone the captain called us all together, and in a very pathetic speech addressed himself to us in the following manner :—" I am now on an equality with the meanest man here present, my fortune is as low and my life is as little to be regarded : I do not pretend, therefore, to command, but to consult with you what is most expedient to be done in the present unhappy situation of our affairs. However," said he, " I am happy in this, that though my life and liberty are lost as well as yours, yet this misfortune is not any ways chargeable on me, for I would rather have kept on my course to the Cape of Good Hope, and relied on Providence in a leaky ship, than put in here, but you strenuously opposed it ; for death, in my opinion, is to be preferred to our present slavery, and the consequences that will naturally attend it. In death our sorrows will have an end, but now, who can tell the troubles and torments we shall yet undergo ;

(at this the tears stood in his eyes.) Consider, gentlemen," said he, "we have neither arms nor ammunition wherewith to defend ourselves; and I have endeavoured to prevail on the king to give us a passage through his country to a seaport, but in vain; think of it, therefore," says he, "and consult your own safety as well as you can; be but of one mind, and I am ready to comply with any thing you would have me: as for my own life, I set no value upon it; it would not now be worth preserving, but for the hopes I have of being serviceable to my friends. Remember I must return an answer to-morrow morning, and I will advise nothing, nor do any thing without your concurrence."

We went together and consulted, as the captain advised, and came soon to an agreement; for the matter in debate lay within a small compass; the king had refused to give us leave to go to a seaport, and we had no arms to fight and force our way, if we could have found it; we therefore determined to go quietly up the country with the king, to the place of his residence, where we were in hopes of seeing and conversing with captain Drummond, captain Steward, and the other people, who (being gallant and courageous men, and by this time somewhat acquainted with the natives) might probably be capable of giving us more proper and seasonable advice.

We then acquainted the captain with our resolution, and he seemed to be very well contented with it; for indeed, he was not over solicitous what became of himself since he had in so unhappy a manner lost his ship and fortune, and despaired of ever getting off the island.

Next morning the king paid the captain a visit; they saluted each other in their usual manner, and sat down together upon the sand, whilst we all stood round them; soon after the king ordered Sam to ask the captain if he was ready to go, for it would be best to walk in the cool of the morning and rest at noon. The captain observed that he did not ask whether he

was inclined to go or not, as might reasonably be expected since he pretended to give him time to consider of it, but peremptorily asked, if he was ready to go.

As the captain saw there was no avoiding it, and having our consent, it signified nothing to dispute it; so he told him we were ready to wait on him when he pleased. At this the king seemed fully satisfied, and ordered Sam to tell us he would breakfast first and advised us to do so too, that we might be the better enabled to perform our journey.

We had little satisfaction, however, in eating and drinking, especially since the hour was come in which we were obliged to leave the seaside; and it galled us severely to think how we were forced up the country like a flock of sheep, at the pleasure of a parcel of barbarous negroes, without any power to make terms for ourselves like men. Some cursed and others bewailed their hard fortune, nor were reflections wanting; for my own part, though I could not, at that time, see any reason for complaint, yet I have since thought that our captain was young, and had not so much experience as his father, who would not have put to sea from Mauritius in a leaky vessel, but have taken out the company's cargo and left it there, till another ship had been sent for it, and saved all our lives; however Providence ordained it otherwise.

The king sent, and the word was given to march. I was ready in an instant, for I carried nothing with me but what I brought ashore; but many of our people took pieces of silk and fine calico. We assembled together, and went to see the place where the king's tent was pitched. We were no sooner come, than he was for marching. We left the sea with heavy hearts, looking very wishfully back as long as we could discern it; and as oft as we did, we observed the negroes hard at work, breaking up our bales, and enriching themselves with the plunder of our goods; in short, they were so busy that but few went back with the king

Our people were but ill-disposed for travelling, since every body was tired with working, and want of rest ; many were lamed with hurts received in getting on shore ; some were also without shoes, and most of us had but bad ones ; then again, the country near the seaside and some few miles further, is full of short underwood and thorny shrubs, which tore our clothes to rags, for the path was very narrow, and before this accident but little frequented ; the ground also was sandy, so that when the sun was advanced pretty high, it scorched our feet to that degree that we were scarcely able to walk.

About noon we came to one of their small mean villages, consisting of about eight or ten houses, or rather huts, for they were not above six or seven feet high, and about eight or nine feet in length, and their doors not above three or four feet high ; our people crept into these hovels to rest, and to see what they could meet with to refresh themselves. Some found honey, others milk, and others beef, for the king had given us free permission to take what eatables soever came to hand. The inhabitants were all absent, the men at the seaside making advantage of our wreck, and the women and children fled into the woods at our approach. We passed several of these poor villages, but saw few of the people. Here we reposed ourselves till the heat abated, when we made ourselves but a poor compensation by robbing them of their trifles, while they were enriching themselves with our most valuable commodities ; however, I observed some of our people found a secret pleasure in gratifying their resentment.

In the cool of the evening we marched again, and in a little time came to a more open and better road. As we were now some miles from the sea the king left us, and went before to his seat, leaving us to march at our leisure ; having before taken care that we should not want provisions, and left his chief officer (whom I shall call his general) strict orders to supply us with whatever we wanted, and what the country would afford

At night we came to another of these little villages, where we killed a bullock, and got a few earthen pots to cook our meat in; the water was very thick and nasty, they having none but what they fetched at a great distance out of holes and pits in the woods, and kept in calabashes, or long tubs, which hold about four or five gallons each; however it served our purpose, for at that time we were not very curious. We reposed ourselves on the ground in the best manner we could, and rose the next morning by daylight. We had beef for our breakfast without any bread or roots in the room of it, and our meat was full of sand; however, eating and drinking was the least of our concern at that time. We passed this day much after the same manner as the day before, with this difference only, that those who wanted shoes were sadly harassed in the woods.

On the third day of our march we came to our journey's end; we were obliged to walk much faster than either of the two former, having more ground to traverse and less time to do it in, for we were ordered to be at the king's town before sunset. I missed one of my purses in this day's journey, but the loss of it was not of any great importance to me at that time, for it would have been of little service to me had I kept it; but the loss of a medal afterwards which my dear mother had presented me as a testimony of her love, and a token to remember her, was no small addition to my other misfortunes.

The residence of this king is about fifty miles from the seaside, for I reckon we might travel sixteen or seventeen miles a day. It stands in a wood secured with trees all round it, which seem to have been planted there when very young; they grow very regular and tall, and so close together, that a small dog cannot pass between them. They are likewise armed with large strong thorns, so that there is no breaking through or climbing over them. There are but two passages or gates, which are so narrow that two only can go abreast; one of these is to the northward, and the

other to the southward ; the whole is about a mile in circumference.

When we came near our journey's end we halted, whilst Sam went to inform the king of our arrival. We were ordered to wait till he was ready for our reception ; our captain too put us into the best form he could, ordering all our baggage and such things as our people brought with them, to be lodged under a tamarind tree, and three or four Lascars to look after them. He soon sent for us, and we marched in order by fours. The king was sitting on a mat, cross-legged, in the open air, just before the door of his palace, with a gun leaning on his shoulder, and a brace of pistols lying by his side ; his sons and kinsman sat in the same manner on the ground on each hand of him, armed with guns and lances ; the natives joined them on both sides, and formed together a semicircle ; most of these were likewise furnished with guns and lances. There were mats spread from one end of the people to the other for us to sit on, so that when we had joined them, the assembly was almost a circular form. We were somewhat concerned to see them all thus in arms, till Sam informed us, that they never go from one house to another without them.

As soon as we were seated, the king (by Sam) assured the captain he was welcome, and sent for ten calabashes of toake, six he gave to our people, three to his own, and one he reserved for our captain and himself. He also sent for captain Drummond, captain Steward, and the rest of their company. Captain Younge arose to salute them, and after the usual compliments were passed, the captains sat down together. The king ordered a servant to pour out some toake into a clean earthen cup which he kept for his own use, and drank it up without drinking to any body, but ordered some more to be poured out for our captain in another cup, but as it was dirty he refused it. The king asked Sam the reason of it, who told him the truth, so the king sent a man immediately to wash it. The captain, indeed, expected to be



served out of the king's cup, but Sam informed him, that neither black nor white, nor even his wives or children, ever drank out of his cup; and this is the general custom of the country.

When I saw the servant returning with the cup our captain had refused, I took out my silver one, and presented it to him; after we had all drank out of it, the king desired to see it, and was so wonderfully pleased with it that he desired to keep it. But the captain informed him that it was none of his, but belonged to a lad that was behind him. I called to Sam and desired him to acquaint the king, that since so many people had drank out of it, I humbly conceived it could not be fit for his use. At this he and the people round him laughed heartily. He ordered me to stand up that he might see me; however I saved my cup this time. Night drawing on he withdrew, ordering us a bullock for our supper. Notwithstanding his courteous reception of us, he would not trust us all to lie within the gates of the town; our captain, Mr Prat, our chief mate, Mr Bembo, our second mate, and myself, were the only persons that were so far indulged. We had a hut ordered us next to captain Drummond and his companions, but the rest of the people lay without the gates under the trees.

In this manner we lived for some few days; what particular amusements some of our people found out to pass away their tedious hours I know not, but there occurred to me an affair of a most agreeable and surprising nature, which some would have improved, and made use of to advantage.

This king had a daughter about thirteen or fourteen years of age who would talk to me sometimes an hour or two together, though I did not comprehend one word she said. Though she seemed to be very desirous I should know her meaning, yet she was very modest, and used no indecent gestures to intimate any vicious inclinations, neither did I entertain any idea of an intrigue, so that our conversation on my side aimed at nothing; this she at length perceived, and sent Sam to



me one day to desire I would come to her nurse's house where she was educated, and partake of a small entertainment. I went along with him, and as soon as we entered I found a mat spread on one side of the house, on which she desired us to seat ourselves, and ordered one of her attendants to boil some guinea corn and milk and roast some beef. She sat down over against me, and though I had no notion of love, yet I could not help observing a particular softness in the tone of her voice; and when she inquired of Sam about our misfortunes, she showed abundance of concern for us; and looked at me with a more than common pleasure, as people of taste do at pictures which please them; and, in short, stared me almost out of countenance. I imagined she was resolved to know me again, by her narrow observance of every motion. She was extremely courteous and obliging, and often sighed with pity at the sense she seemed to have of our deplorable condition. I looked upon her as a good-natured creature, and that curiosity more than love had made her fond of conversing with a white man, which is a novelty in their country.

We were just entering into the best part of the conversation, and our interpreter had begun, at her request, to acquaint me with the reason of her extraordinary complaisance and observance of me, when her mother came to the door, and desired her to take a walk with her without the gates to see the white men. I was a little nettled at this interruption, and she seemed much more concerned at it herself; however it would have been an act of the highest disobedience in her to have refused her mother's request; so she complied with a seeming readiness, and we returned.

Sam told me he had private orders from her to inform me, that she was in love with me; but laid her commands upon him to say nothing of it to any person whomsoever, either white or black. I was strangely startled at this open declaration, and that this was the private motive that induced her to be fond of my company and conversation. Since I came to be a man, I

have stood astonished at my own stupidity in putting a modest young lady of her birth and character to the mortification of acquainting me with her love, and exposing herself to the censures of another man. I have nothing to plead in my excuse, but that being a lad scarce sixteen years of age, the discovery of so important a secret created in me more fear than affection ; lest the consequences of so dangerous an affair might prove fatal to me. She sent again for me that very night, and I attended her accordingly ; and behaved myself with all the decency and good manners, as common prudence and gratitude for her civilities obliged me to. I knew she was the king's darling, and therefore dreaded to disoblige her, lest she might tell her father what story she thought proper and destroy me in a moment. At length I perceived she was equally afraid of her father's knowledge of her passion ; so that I looked upon myself in danger on both sides : for which reason, when Sam informed me that she desired my company again the next night, I pretended to be very sick and unable to go abroad ; so that this affair, which might have proved highly agreeable to some warmer persons, proved to me, in the circumstances I was then, a matter of vexation and fatigue ; but two days after, our amour, if I may call it so, was totally disconcerted.

Every morning we went, as was expected, in a body to visit the king ; but one morning he ordered Sam to inform us, that he had an inveterate enemy to the westward, who had hitherto proved too powerful for him ; but since his gods had been so indulgent as to send some white men into his dominions, he would embrace so favourable an opportunity once more to try his strength with our assistance ; but in the mean time he should be obliged to distribute us among his sons, who lived at distant towns, not only for the convenience of providing for such a number of us, (there not being room enough in this town,) but to ease himself of a charge which was too great and burthensome for him to support alone. He also sent to me this night to beg the silver cup beforementioned, with which request (know-

ing it was in his power to take it by force if he thought fit) I readily complied. This unexpected separation was a terrible blow to us, and we returned to our cottages with heavy hearts, well knowing, if we could not find out some way to prevent it, there were no hopes of ever getting off the island.

Hereupon the three captains, viz. Drummond, Steward, and Younge, with some of the chief of our people, entered immediately into a consultation about what was proper to be done in this emergency; and to make some bold attempt for our lives and liberty. Captain Drummond, as I heard afterwards, was the man who proposed to take the king prisoner; and by that means to make their own terms with the natives. Now captain Drummond and some others were men of experience and undaunted resolution: our captain, indeed, had courage enough, but he was too young. However, the proposition was universally approved of, and the time and manner of the execution was fixed. I was too young to be admitted as one of the council; therefore I shall not pretend to relate what reasons were produced either for, or against the proposal; though I was told afterwards: that night, however, I was wholly ignorant. I observed captain Younge and Mr Bembo to talk with great earnestness, but in whispers, and with the utmost precaution. As I was then a stranger to that design I slept soundly, till I was roused in the morning by a great and sudden noise in the town, occasioned by the plot being put into execution. Our people went, as usual, betimes in the morning to pay their compliments to the king; and whilst some of them were at the prince's house the signal was given by one of captain Drummond's men firing a pistol; at which the king was seized, and his son at the same instant.

This instantly alarmed the whole town. I started up without my shoes, being frightened at the sudden outcry. Not knowing what was the matter, and seeing the negroes flocking out of the town, I ran with them, till I was taken notice of by one of our men, who called me back; and I was as much amazed as the natives to see

the king, his consort, and one of his sons, with their hands tied behind them, under the guard of our people. They soon plundered the king's mansion-house, and every other place where they could find any agreeable plunder. We happened to find about thirty small arms, a small quantity of powder and shot, and a few lances. The natives (as I observed before) ran out of the town, but they did it with no other view than to procure assistance; for they soon alarmed the country, and returned with great numbers from all the adjacent towns; and immediately besieged us. They fired in upon us, and wounded one of our men in the groin; on which captain Younge ordered Sam to tell the king if they fired any more they would kill him that very moment. The king hearing their resolution, called to his men, and desired them to desist if they had a mind to save his life.

This attempt, indeed, was bold and hazardous, and some perhaps may censure it as criminal; I shall not say much in its defence: but since I have arrived to years of maturity, I cannot forbear reflecting that if nature, even in a christian country, will rebel against principle, what will it not do for life and liberty under the tyranny and oppression of a barbarous and savage nation!

However, at length we put ourselves in a posture of defence and marched out of the town. Six men under arms marched in the front, and in the body where the king was, six went armed before him and six behind; three before his son and three behind him; and six brought up the rear, in which were the Lascars. Captain Younge, out of compassion, would have released the queen, and let her go wherever she pleased, but she would not abandon her husband.

We had not gone above four miles on our march, before our wounded companion fainted; and not being able to carry him off, we were forced to leave him by the side of a pond of water; where, as I was afterwards informed, they soon put him out of his pain, by striking their lances into several parts of his body. Having

marched about two or three miles farther, we got cut of the woods, and found ourselves in a spacious, open plain, where we could see all around us ; and soon found that our enemies were not only near, but numerous, and threatened immediately to attack us. We faced towards them, our armed men being in the front, with the king bound before them. Sam was ordered at the same time to tell him, that our design was not to hurt either him or his son, nor to carry them into their enemies' country, but only to detain them as hostages for our safeguard while we passed through his dominions ; and that as soon as we came to the borders of Port Dauphine, we would let them go again, and give them back the arms and ammunition we had taken from them ; but if the least violence were offered to us we would sacrifice them both ; and this we desired him to tell his people.

Hereupon he called one of his generals to him, assuring him that he should receive no harm. Accordingly he left his gun and lance behind him and came to us, where he was informed, both by us and the king, of our resolution ; upon which he told us there should not be a gun fired whilst we preserved the king alive, and gave him civil treatment.

This parley being over, we continued our march through the plain till near evening ; many of us without shoes as well as myself, and some sick ; which obliged us to take up our quarters sooner than we would otherwise have done ; so that every one was almost faint and glad of rest. The king ordered Sam to tell us that an ox should be sent to us forthwith. We made a trench, like a ring, in the midst whereof we planted the black king and his son ; our captain, and some few others were appointed as a guard over them : our armed men were divided into four parts, in order to secure us in the best manner they could. We had just finished our camp, when the officer, who had been with us before, and three other men brought us a bullock. He brought likewise some roasted meat in his hand, and a horn of water for the king ; so we loosed our royal prisoners' hands that they might feed themselves. They

eat some small matter, and gave the remainders to captain Younge.

Whilst we were employed in killing the ox, we desired the king to send some of his people into the woods for some fuel to dress it; which he readily did, and they soon brought us sufficient for our purpose. But all this time we wanted water, and complained thereof to the king; who assured us that there was none to be got near that place by several miles; and that what small quantity was given him in the horn was brought from that very pond where we left the wounded man; which could not be less than about ten miles' distance. This very much disheartened us; for we were parched with thirst, which was the more increased by the fatigue of our long march, and the heat of the country. However, there was no help for us, and patience was the only remedy. When the king and his son had supped, we bound their hands before them that they might sleep as easily as they could; so after we had cut up our bullock, and divided it amongst us, broiled and eat it, though with but little satisfaction, for want of water; and when we had made as good a supper as our unhappy circumstances would admit of, we also used our best endeavours to repose ourselves. The three captains, however, agreed to watch alternately, and divided our people into three parts for that purpose. The king entreated his wife to go home and to comfort his children; but more particularly recommended his beloved daughter to her care. She went at his request, but shed tears at her departure; as did also the king and his son. Such of us as were not on the watch lay down, but we had a wretched night; for the ground was stony, and there was but little grass; and what was a still greater affliction, we were excessive dry, and had nothing to quench our thirst.

At dawn of day we arose, which was the second day of our travel, and the better to support ourselves under the fatigue of it, we eat part of the remains of our beef; but it was a miserable repast, as we had nothing to drink. However, we put ourselves in the same order as

we had done the day before, and went forwards; the natives perceiving us in motion, moved too, but kept at a greater distance, and went into our camp after we had quitted it to see what they could find, and their labour was not altogether lost; for many of our people thought proper to leave half those India goods they had brought out of the town behind them, that they might travel with less fatigue. We walked with more ease half this day than we did the day before, it proving cloudy weather and cool. About noon the general who had been with us before, came with some roast meat, and a horn of water for the king and his son. As we did not loose their hands, we were forced to feed them. The general ordered Sam to ask the captains if they would release the king for six guns. I perceived there was a debate between them and Mr Bembo: some thinking the six guns would be of great service to us, especially as we should still have the king's son. Others were of opinion that it would be more for our safety to keep the king; however it was agreed at last that he should be dismissed. We informed the general that if they would give us six very good guns, and promise on their honour not to follow us, but return with their king, we would let him go; and that as soon as we came to the river Manderra, which divided his dominions from those of Port Dauphine, we would release the king's son, and leave all their arms behind us.

The general was startled at this unexpected condescension of our people, and despatched away one of his attendants to the king's other sons, who were not far off with their army, to acquaint them with our proposal; and in half an hour's time returned to us with six of the best guns. They made the more haste lest our minds should alter. We kept them no longer in suspense than while we took the guns to pieces, to see whether they were in good condition or not; and finding them better than we could reasonably have expected in such a country, we released their king, and sent him away with the general. He took his leave of the prince, and went



directly to his army. We were so near as to see the ceremony of his sons meeting him, who fell down and embraced his knees, and with all the earnestness imaginable, shedding tears for joy. After they had kissed and licked his knees and legs for about five or six minutes, they arose to give his head officers an opportunity of paying the like homage ; and after them, some others of an inferior station ; who, in general, expressed a most sincere and passionate affection to his person, and showed all the demonstrations of joy imaginable on account of his return. This ceremonial over, they all hallooed and fired their guns as a public testimony of their general joy and satisfaction.

We could not help halting to observe this scene, but before it was perfectly concluded we marched forwards as well as we could, though with no small difficulty : for notwithstanding it continued cloudy, yet the afternoon was sultry hot, and our thirst increasing, we began to grow sensibly weaker and weaker ; our captains, however, walked slowly on, which made our journey something easier. We asked the prince if there was no water near at hand ; he informed us that there was none to be got till we came to Manderra river, which we should not be able to reach that night. Though it was not easy for us to miss our way, yet we made him our guide. The natives had told us before, that the plain we were in was long, and of no great breadth in proportion to the length ; but extended itself near east and west to the river. As soon as we came to a sandy place, we halted and formed our camp, it being then near sunset. This was somewhat softer for us to lie on than our situation the night before. The natives perceiving that we began to encamp, followed our example. They divided themselves accordingly into six parties, and so ordered their matters that they almost surrounded us ; which did not a little surprise us. However we appointed our watch as before ; but here to our misfortune we could find neither victuals nor water ; and were almost parched with thirst. In short, we were



reduced to so great an extremity, that we crawled on the ground to lick the dew ; and this was all the refreshment we could then meet with.

On the third day of our march we rose early, and put forward as well as we could. The negroes, who strictly observed our motions, were as ready as we ; but we placed our armed men in the front, determining to make a bold push for it, if they attempted to obstruct our passage. They divided, and let us proceed without molestation ; and though we travelled all the morning yet we met with nothing remarkable, till we arrived at a little round hill, whereon there stood a prodigiously large tub, about six feet high, which held near a hundred gallons, and was full of toake. Our people were going immediately to drain it dry, but Sam threw it down and spilt all the liquor ; asking us with some warmth, if we were so blind as not to see the plot that was laid for our destruction : for it was planted there to tempt us to drink, with no other intention than to poison us all ; or at least to intoxicate us to that degree, that they might rescue their prince without opposition, and murder us at their pleasure.

While we were reflecting on this extraordinary action, the general and two or three more came up to us, and asked Sam what reason he could offer for spilling the toake. To which he made no regular reply, but bid him begone about his business. The general desired to speak with the young prince, and after a little discourse with him, directed Sam to acquaint captain Younge that if he should think fit to release the prince, they would give him three of the head-men of the country in exchange. The captain told him, if he would consent to be one of them, they would agree to it. He excused himself on account of his family, who, as he pretended, would be inconsolable should he leave them ; however, he would engage that his own brother, who had no children, should be one of the hostages.

Captain Younge, who imagined that they followed us on account of their prince only, and that if we should release him they would return back, complied with the

general's proposition. Upon this he posted away to the army, and acquainted the other princes with the agreement he had made; for the king went directly home as soon as he left us. We marched on, determining to lose no time, and the general returned in less than an hour with three men; and informed us, that he had brought his brother and two more of the chief of their people in exchange for the prince; and as to the arms then in our possession which belonged to their king, we might, when we had no further occasion for them, leave them according to our promise with these three men, who would take care to send them home.

We took the three men, and having tied their hands behind them, delivered up the prince. He shook hands with our captains, and went to the army; as soon as his brethren saw him at a distance they ran to meet him, as did also many others, who seemed to be more transported with joy for his deliverance, than they were before for his father's.

We proceeded on our journey as well as men could without provisions, and were too soon convinced of captain Younge's mistake; for the negroes instead of retiring approached nearer to us, and some marched before us; so that we expected every minute when they would attack us. We had a young lad in our company who lost his leg at Bengal. Notwithstanding he was well recovered, and supplied with a wooden one well fitted, yet it cannot be imagined that he should be able to keep up with us; for being now surprised by their surrounding us, we doubled our pace; and, in short, were obliged to leave this poor lad behind us. We saw the barbarians come up with him, take off his wooden leg, and first insult him; then they thrust their lances into his body, and left him wallowing in his blood. Being eye-witnesses of this act of inhumanity, and apprehensive of the like treatment, we hurried on as fast as our feeble limbs could carry us till sunset; when we came to a large tamarind tree, the leaves whereof, as they were sour, we chewed to moisten our mouths. The fruit itself was not then in season.

The three negroes whom we had taken as hostages, observing what had passed, and thinking their lives in danger, called to Sam and the captains, and told them they had a scheme to propose which would be for the safety of us all, which was this :—that as soon as it was dark we should keep marching on as silently as possible all the night. The captains approved of this proposal, and ordered none of us to sleep, but to be ready as soon as the watchword was given. This was very grievous considering how tired we were the day before ; but we submitted cheerfully to any thing which gave us hopes of escaping from the violent hands of those bloodthirsty barbarians. As soon as it was dark enough to conceal our flight we assembled together, and took a considerable quantity of muslins and calicoes and hung them upon the bushes, that the spies, who we knew watched us, might not any ways mistrust our sudden removal.

We walked off accordingly undiscovered by them. Captain Drummond, however, being taken so ill that he could not walk at all, none of us being strong enough to carry him, we resolved to make the three negroes perform that office by turns. After we had thus travelled most part of the night, we came to a thicket among some cotton trees, where the man who had the charge of captain Drummond, pretending to ease himself, threw the captain upon the ground, ran away into the wood, and we never saw him more. Upon this we had a more watchful eye over the other two and led him whose turn it was to carry the captain with a rope about his neck.

Weak as we were, we travelled a great many miles that night, and were glad when the day broke in upon us ; for the negroes had told us before, that if we walked hard all night we should be at Manderra river betimes in the morning. And their information was just ; for as soon as we came to a little hill, the sun then just rising, we had a prospect of the river, though at a considerable distance ; however, the hopes we had of coming to it in a short time, and of getting water to quench our thirst, gave us no small pleasure, and our spirits began

to revive at the very sight of it. It was some comfort to us likewise to think that the king's dominions extended no farther; notwithstanding there were no inhabitants to protect us within several miles on the other side. Some of our people, who were more tired than the rest, took liberty to sit down to refresh themselves; as taking it for granted, that the negro army would never come in sight of us again.

But this vain notion of being safe and secure too quickly vanished; for as soon as they missed us in the morning, they pursued us like so many greyhounds; and before we got within a mile of Manderra river overtook us. Thereupon they began to butcher our men then resting under the trees, striking their lances into their sides and throats. Though I was one of those who could not travel well, yet there were twenty behind me; the woman, whose life was preserved in our ship, was next to me. I seeing them kill our people in this barbarous manner, threw off my coat and waistcoat, and trusted to my heels, for the foremost of our people having passed the river, and I not being far off took courage; but hearing the report of a gun, I looked back, and saw the poor woman fall, and the negroes sticking their lances in her sides. My turn was next, for the same negroes pursued me, and before I was got to the brink of the river they fired a gun at me; but I jumped in. Our men who had got safely over, made a stand, in order to defend those who were behind; and notwithstanding the negroes followed me so close, I could not refrain from drinking two or three times out of my hat, let the consequence prove what it would.

However I got over safely, and whilst we were on the bank and faced them, they never attempted to follow us. Our captains asked me, if I thought there were any of our companions still behind us? I answered, I believed that there were none alive. We waited a while, and then marched forwards. We had a wood to pass through, and the negroes as soon as they saw us quit the banks, immediately pursued us. They got

into the woods, and firing behind the trees every now and then, they killed three or four of our men. We had not travelled above two miles in this wood, before we came to a large sandy plain, to which we could see no end, and here they determined to stop our progress; since if we went much farther, we should be within hearing of king Samuel's subjects, who were their mortal enemies, and would readily assist us. They divided themselves, therefore, into several bodies, in order to break in upon us on all sides; and we being apprized of their designs, were resolved to sell our lives and liberties as dearly as possible. Hereupon our captains put us in as good a posture of defence as they could, and divided our men who bore arms into four classes: one under the command of each of our three captains, and the other under Mr John Bembo; such as had no arms or were disabled, were covered in a little valley; and with them were the two negro hostages.

We had not above six and thirty fire-arms amongst us all, and not many more persons fit to fight; so that we were a poor handful to withstand an army of two or three thousand. When they found we made a stand, they did so too; and according to their wonted manner (where it could be done) three or four of them in a place threw up the sand before them, and being also beneath us, we could see only their heads: their shot flew very fast over us, and we kept them in play from noon till six in the evening; by which time all our ammunition was spent. Those of us who had money made slugs of it; their next shift was to take the middle screws out of their guns, and charge their pieces with them. When they had used all these means, they knew not what to do farther: now we began to reflect on those who advised us to deliver up first the king, and afterwards his son; since the keeping of them would have been our principal safeguard. The two negroes in our custody expected, no doubt, every minute to be killed, as very justly they might; but as their death would be of no service to us, we did them no injury.

At length it was unanimously agreed, that Dudey and her husband should be sent to them with a flag of truce, not only to prolong the time, but to know what they farther wanted : so we tied a piece of red silk to a lance, and despatched them away. They kept firing at us all this time, not knowing what we meant by not returning it. They shot at those who carried the flag, but perceiving that they were not armed, the prince ordered them to cease. Dudey was interpreter, and told them that our captain was inclined to make peace with them, and to deliver up the two hostages with the guns and ammunition we took with us, as soon as we were advanced a little farther into the country. They said they would suffer us to go in the morning, in case we would deliver up our arms and the men ; but not that evening, because it was dark. Their true reason was this, they knew if we got away that night, we should send some of king Samuel's people, who were their utter enemies, to be revenged on them for the ill treatment we had met with.

We were at a loss what determination to come to : we were willing, indeed, to let the two men (whom they called generals) go ; but loath to part with our arms : most of us, as well as our captain, were of opinion, that they followed us for nothing else, and were for delivering them up ; but captain Drummond, captain Steward, and their people, with Mr Bembo, and some of our men, opposed it. Captain Drummond, in particular, expressed a great concern to see us so easy to be imposed upon ; and told us that it was too visible their words were not to be relied on : most voices, however, carried it, and captain Younge being of the opinion it was best to resign them, it was agreed ; and in short, soon actually performed ; for Dudey having orders to acquaint them with such resolution, they sent proper messengers immediately to receive them.

Captain Drummond, however, and his companions claimed theirs as their own right and property, and therefore would not deliver them ; nor would Dudey's

husband part with his. The negroes well knew we had but few left, and went away to all outward appearance well contented for that night. Dudey returned, and assured us that they would let us go in the morning; and as night was coming on, we laid down upon the sand, to repose ourselves as well as our distressed circumstances would admit of; for besides the hunger and fatigue we had already suffered, we reflected a thousand times on the barbarities we had seen committed the day before; and that it was now in their power to treat us as they pleased.

The next morning as soon as we could see, we missed captain Drummond, captain Steward, Mr Bembo, Dudey, and her husband, and four or five more, who deserted us in the night, without communicating their intentions to us. Now we plainly saw destruction before us, and the end of this miserable journey; which, after so bold an attempt, we undertook for the preservation of our lives and liberty; and a tragical one it was. For,

No sooner was it broad daylight, than the negroes came up to us, and the prince had a short conference with Sam. Captain Younge asked him the purport of their discourse. He answered, they wanted to know what was become of captain Drummond, and the rest. The words were no sooner out of his mouth, than one of the princes took hold of me, and delivered me to one of his attendants; there were three or four lads like myself and much about my age, who were seized at the same time and delivered to their people in the same manner; who bound our hands with cords.

The same prince who ordered my hands to be thus tied, stuck his lance into captain Younge's throat, and afterwards into his sides. Having killed him, he went on to another; and the rest of his barbarous train immediately following his example, they soon murdered every man belonging to our company; they then stripped off their clothes, and like inhuman butchers, ripped open several of their bellies. As for my part, I expected death every moment, but in what shape I



could not tell; for one of the generals lifted up his lance, with an intention to pierce me through, but was prevented by the man who had me in custody, for some reasons I could not then rightly understand; but as I heard afterwards, he informed him I was reserved to wait on the king's grandson. Though this saved my life, yet it would not hinder the officer from rifling me of what I had valuable about me; for he feeling my purse in my breeches pocket, and not readily finding it, in a fury, with his lance cut away my breeches, and narrowly missed my flesh.

When they had concluded this bloody scene, and clothed themselves with the spoils of the slain, they marched away in very great haste, for fear of the natives of Port Dauphine; whom they imagined captain Drummond and the rest had by that time alarmed, and prevailed on them to send some forces down to our rescue. Now whether the negroes might not think we had sent them away on purpose to get such assistance, and thereby provoked them to murder us, I cannot say; but certain it is, we were the most unfortunate wretches in the universe: for I was afterwards informed, before our murdered people were well cold, two thousand of king Samuel's men came down to rescue us out of their merciless hands.

Perhaps the reader will say, why did we not send two or three of our people as soon as we had passed the river? To which I can only answer, I think we were all infatuated, for with ease it might have been done; especially since we had the woman Dudey to go with them as an interpreter; and we might have kept Sam with us. But none of these reasons at that time occurred to me; for I was but a raw, inexperienced youth. And what motives could induce captain Younge to release both the king and his son, is what I cannot pretend to account for. The plot was doubtless well concerted, and as duly executed at first, but most shamefully conducted afterwards; and, indeed, it is scarcely credible, that such a number of us could be so stupid as we then were; and since I have



attained to a mature age, and been capable of any reflection, it is what I have been surprised at.

The only reason that can be offered I now think, is, that as all of us had a great affection for our captain's father, so it caused us to be too partial, and to entertain too good an opinion of the son. But I since found to my great concern that our captain wanted not only judgment, but experience in the world; for captain Drummond, as I very well remember, frequently opposed him; but by whatsoever ill conduct or folly we might contribute towards our ruin, so it was; and I am relating a real fact, and not inventing a fiction, or telling the reader what might or ought to have been done in the unhappy situation of our affairs at that time; however, through his imprudence were my friends massacred, and myself with three more made perpetual slaves: the eldest of us was not above sixteen years of age, and we were immediately parted, for they marched directly off the spot. As for Sam, I do not reckon him as one of us, because he went off with the negroes. I never saw him afterwards, but was informed, that he lived a freeman under deaan Crindo; and whether he was so faithful to us as in justice and gratitude he ought to have been, is somewhat dubious.

All the way we went I had the shocking prospect of our men's mangled bodies, as we passed through the woods to the river. I was not so thirsty now, as when I passed it first; but so faint for want of victuals, that I could scarcely stand upon my legs, having had no sustenance for three days together. Though my master expressed some little concern for me, yet he would not bait till he was past the river; however, he ordered his people to stop at the first commodious place, and make a fire. And now I was in hopes of some agreeable refreshment; for some of his servants had carried beef on their backs for that purpose. Though they cut it into long pieces, (like ropes,) with the hide, and dressed and eat it half-roasted according to their custom, and gave it me in the same manner, yet I thought

this contemptible food, and what a beggar in England would not have touched, the most delicious entertainment I ever met with. We rested here about an hour, when he, to whose care I was intrusted, made signs to know if I could walk; and as I was a little refreshed, I got up, and travelled the remainder of the day with more ease than I expected; since they walked but slowly, as I perceived on purpose to indulge me.

At night we came to a wood, the place appointed for our lodging; and there we met with three or four men, whom my master had sent out a foraging, and they brought in with them two bullocks; one of which my master sent to his brother, for the use of him and his people, and the other was killed for us; for the army was now disbanded, and each party was marching home with their respective chiefs to their own habitations. Here my master came to me and gave me a lance, intimating that I might cut out as much as I thought proper. I cut about a pound without any part of the hide, which he perceiving, imputed it to my ignorance, and so cut a slice with the hide and dressed it for me; which I ate with seeming thankfulness, not daring to refuse it. As soon as supper was over, each man pulled up as much grass as was sufficient for himself to lie on; my guardian, however, provided enough for himself and me. I then reposed myself accordingly, and he lay by me; but his back skin smelled so rank, that I was forced to turn my back on him all night long. I had very little rest, for the ghastly spectacle of my massacred friends was ever before me, and made me start from sleep as soon as I closed my eyes.

At break of day we arose, and after a short repast marched on till noon, when we baited among some shady trees near a pond of water; which very pond we had passed by three days before, or at least within two hundred yards of it, when we were dying with thirst, and the negroes told us there was no water near us.

Whilst some employed themselves in kindling a fire,

others were busy in digging up and down amongst the grass. I could not conceive what they were doing at first; but I soon observed one of them pulling out of the ground a long white root, which I found was a yam, having seen many of them at Bengal; they soon furnished themselves with a sufficient quantity. I perceived they grew wild without any cultivation: some of them were a yard long at least, and about six or seven inches in circumference; they obliged me with some of them, which I roasted, and eat with a great deal of pleasure, instead of bread, with my beef: they are very agreeable to the taste, as well as wholesome food.

We arrived that evening at a small town, which we no sooner entered than the women and children flocked round about me, pinched me, struck me on the back with their fists, and showed several other tokens of their derision and contempt; at which I could not forbear weeping, as it was not in my power to express my resentment any other way; but when my guardian observed it, he came to my assistance and freed me from my persecutors. All the houses that were empty were taken up by my master, his brother, and other head-men; so that my guardian and I lay exposed to the open air. The ill treatment I met with from the women and children, put a thousand distracting thoughts into my head. Sometimes I imagined that I might be preserved alive for no other purpose, than to be carried to the king and his son, who would, in all probability, be fired with resentment at our late seizing of them, and making them prisoners; then, again, I thought that to gratify their pleasure and revenge, they would order me to be put to death before their faces by slow degrees, and the most exquisite torments. Such melancholy reflections as these so disordered me that when once through weariness I fell into a slumber I had a dream which so terrified me that I started upright, and trembled every joint of me; in short, I could not get one wink of sleep all the night long.

When it was broad daylight we marched homeward

(for now I must call it so) and in three or four hours time we arrived at a considerable town, with three or four tamarind trees before it. One of the negroes carried a large shell, which, when he blew, sounded like a post-boy's horn. This brought the women to a spacious house in the middle of the town, about twelve feet high, which I soon perceived was my master's. No sooner had he seated himself at the door, than his wife came out crawling on her hands and knees till she came to him, and then licked his feet; and when she had thus testified her duty and respects, his mother paid him the like compliment, and all the women in the town saluted their husbands in the same manner: then each man went to his respective habitation, my master's brother only excepted; who though he had a house, had no wife to receive him, and so he stayed behind.

My mistress intimated by her motions that she would have me go in and sit down. A great deal of serious discourse passed between my master and her, and though I knew nothing of what they said, yet by her looking so earnestly at me whilst he was talking, I conjectured he was relating to her our tragical tale, and I perceived that the tears frequently stood in her eyes. This conference over, she ordered some carrawances to be boiled for our dinner; a kind of pulse, much like our grey pease: she gave me some, but as they had been boiled in dirty water, I could not eat them. She, perceiving I did not like them, strained them off the water and put some milk to them, and after that I made a tolerable meal of them. She gave me not only a mat to lie down upon, but a piece of calico likewise about two yards in length to cover me. She intimated that she wanted to know my name, which I told her was Robin. Having received so much civility from my mistress, I began to be much better satisfied than I was at first; and then laid me down and slept without any fear or concern about four hours, as near as I could guess by the sun. When I waked my mistress called me by my name, and gave me some

milk to drink. She talked for some considerable time to me, but I could not understand one word she said. My master was all this time with his brother at the door regaling themselves with toake.

When night came on I perceived that I was to lie with them, for there was no other room. My master and mistress lay in the middle, and the whole house was not above fourteen feet in length, and twelve in breadth, so that I lay crosswise close to his feet: in this odd manner we lay three or four nights successively. At last he called me by my name several times to know, I presume, whether I was awake or not; but as I answered him whenever he called, I imagined he would have been better pleased if I had slept soundly, and had not heard him at all; for the next evening he carried me to his aunt's house, where he told me I must lie for the future. There I remained both day and night, and did little but walk out with her and her daughter to visit the plantations which had been lately sown with Guinea corn and potatoes. In the evening I used to visit my master and mistress, and for supper I generally had milk, which was sometimes fresh and sometimes sour. They were not over fond of putting me to work, as I could do them but little service, being altogether a stranger to what was said to me, and more especially as he had above two hundred slaves always ready to answer his occasions.

My master, whose name was deaan Mevarrow, was grandson to deaan Crindo, who was absolute lord of this country, and his wife was the daughter of a northern king whom they had conquered in battle, and she was one of my master's captives. For this reason I presume it was that she took so much compassion upon me; considering herself a slave in a strange country, and only preferred to my master's bed by courtesy.

In a short time I began to reconcile myself to their manner of eating, since no better provision I found was to be had, only I would strip off some of the hair from the hide of the beef, whenever I could do it

without being observed. I used often to reflect on my brother and sister's more agreeable manner of living at my father's table; being conscious that even some beggars in England fared much better than I did here. However as I found nobody lived better, I made myself as easy as I could; I was now under no apprehensions of being killed till an accident happened soon after, which put me into a violent panic for about an hour. My master, attended by several of his slaves, took me with him one evening into the woods; I observed great preparations made for killing and dressing a bullock or some such thing, but there being none to kill, and it being then dark, I perceived that they walked about with great circumspection, talked softly, and testified all the symptoms of some secret design; upon this the tears stood in my eyes, imagining that they intended to cut me up and make a meal of me, but my fright was soon over when I saw two slaves hauling along a bullock by a rope fastened to his horns, and my master sticking his lance into his throat in order to despatch him. They immediately cut up his carcass and dressed the entrails after their own manner. The booty was equally divided, and I observed that each man took care to hide his portion in some private place, from whence he might convey it away by night. As soon as our business was over we parted, some one way and some another, for fear of being taken notice of. I now plainly perceived that we were all this time plundering of our neighbours. I often wondered indeed that the aunt with whom I lived, dressed meat so often in the nighttime, but this unravelled the mystery; this was not the only time I was forced to assist in this clandestine practice.

In about four months' time I began to have some tolerable notion of their language; I knew the names of most common things, and could express myself so as to be understood. My master and mistress took me one day into the plantations, where the slaves were hoeing the weeds from the caravances, that were just shooting up. They gave me a hoe, but I had no inclination to

work ; I pretended to be very ignorant and hoed up plants and weeds together, at which they laughed heartily, and took away my hoe to prevent more mischief.

This artifice, however, proved of but little service to me, for my master perceiving that I either could not or would not work in the plantations, was determined to employ me some other way, and about such business as I could not well do amiss. Accordingly the next day he showed me his cattle, and told me I must take care of them, drive them to water, and see that they did not break either his own or any other neighbour's plantations. This business I liked much better than the other, because there were three or four lads more of this town about my age, who had cattle to attend to as well as myself. What I disliked most was, that we had a very considerable way to drive them to water, and at night to drive them back again ; besides I was obliged to drag home a long tub which held about three gallons ; for all the water we used in the house was fetched from this watering place. However we had no just cause of complaint, for we joined our herds together, and in the heat of the day, when the cattle would lie down in the shade, we had three or four hours' time to ramble through the woods and gather yams. I had been thus long in the country, yet I never knew how they struck fire, till wanting to roast some of my yams, I asked my comrades where their fire was ; they showed me their hands and laughing, said, here it is, but one of them soon informed me how to do it. He took one short round stick about half the length of a gun rammer, and another considerably thicker, but both of one sort of wood, and rubbed the former upon the latter till there came a dust from it first, then a smoke, and soon fire after.

We sometimes traversed the woods and stole people's honey, and eat it just as we found it. When we could spare time, we used to look for a creature which I call a ground-hog, and which in their language is called tondruck ; it is about the size of a cat, snout,



eyes, and ears are like an English hog's, it has bristles on its back but no tail, the feet of it are like a rabbit's; its principal food is beetles and young snails, which they grub up with their snouts; they are very prolific, and have above twenty young ones at a litter, to all which they give suck. In the cold season of the year (for though there is no time which can properly be called winter, yet one part of the year is sensibly much colder than the other) these creatures hide themselves in the ground in a most surprising manner. They first dig a hole about two feet deep directly in the earth, and after that they work obliquely two or three feet one way, and as much another, making angles; though they throw the earth up with their fore feet, yet they make it as firm with their hind feet as if no passage had been ever made. When they have worked in this manner for some time, they then work aslant, upwards, till they get within half a foot of the surface: there they make a kind of lodgment, just big enough for them to turn themselves round in, where they lie for four or five months successively without any sustenance whatsoever; and what is still more strange, they are as fat at the expiration of that term as when they first went in. It is no small difficulty to catch them, for when we have discovered some marks of the place where we imagine they began to burrow, we are often disappointed in digging after them; they work so artfully, that we know not which way to find out their secret recesses; but we spare no pains to take them, for they are excellent food, and their skin when dressed is as brown and crisp as a pig's. Their hedgehogs too are agreeable enough, but nothing near so delicious as their tondrucks; these conceal themselves all the cold winter in holes of trees, where they remain for some months without any visible support.

This employment of attending the cattle was agreeable to me, except in excessively hot weather, when it was a great fatigue to drive them several miles to water, at least every other day; but in the colder season we had no occasion to observe that practice,



for the dew falls so plentifully in the night, that we find it sufficient to drive them into the grass about break of day; and even the inhabitants of this part of the country of Anterndroëa, who have no water near them, go into the fields in a morning with two wooden platters and a tub, and in less than an hour will collect about eight or ten gallons of dew-water, which is very good while fresh, but will turn sour in a day or two, and disagreeable to the taste.

I had not followed this employment above a year, when my master went to war, or rather (as I understood afterwards) to plunder a people to the westward whom they pursued with the most implacable hatred, they having surprised deaan Crindo's father in his own town by night, and murdered him in a most barbarous manner.

My master informed me that I must look after the cattle no more, for he was going to war, and had other business for me of much greater importance. I offered my service to wait on him, but he answered, we shall travel night and day; it is a long and tedious journey, and you cannot, I believe, be able to undergo the fatigue, but your principal business must be to look after my wife, and act as her guardian. He gave me a strict charge to lie in the same house with her, and never to let her stir out without me. After he had given her instructions to the same effect, he took his leave, and accompanied by most of his people, went on his intended expedition.

I now lived at perfect ease, and my mistress was very kind and indulgent to me. I went abroad wherever she went, partook of every thing she had for herself, and lay in the same house with her, both of us strictly observing our master's orders; neither could I perceive that her compliance therewith was any way repugnant to her inclinations. I was not, it is true, absolutely easy myself; for the thoughts of my friends and native country, and the improbability of ever seeing them again, made me very melancholy, and dejected me to that degree that sometimes I coul

not forbear indulging my grief in private, and bursting into a flood of tears.

My mistress would frequently ask me whether I was indisposed, or wanted any thing; I could not prevail on myself to reveal the real cause of my anxiety; however one day I took the liberty to tell her, I should be very glad of an opportunity to see the other three lads, whose lives were preserved, and who were taken prisoners when I was. She desired me not to afflict myself on that account, for she would go with me, and should be highly delighted to hear us converse together in our own language. Accordingly she made inquiry amongst her neighbours where they were, who informed us that they were at some distance from one another; but that the nearest to be met with was about four or five miles off. So the next morning we set out and inquired for the white boy: we were told that he was gone to carry his fellow-servants some provisions to the plantation, but as soon as a messenger was sent to him he returned immediately, being as desirous of seeing me in particular as I was of him; we embraced each other in a very passionate manner, and expressed ourselves at first rather in tears than words. We had been very intimate on shipboard, and I used to treat him frequently with punch, being delighted with his company as he had a taste for music, and could play extremely well on the violin. We condoled with each other, and observed how wretchedly we looked, all naked, except a small clout about our middles, and our skins spotted like a leopard's; for neither of us being ever before so exposed to the sun, we were scorched, and flead as it were, and our skins often rose up in blisters. After our mutual condolence we came to an agreement, that if either of us got safe to England, we would give the other's friends a particular account of all our misfortunes. We inquired of each other after our other comrades, but were equally strangers to their particular places of abode. My mistress seemed very attentive to our discourse, and showed a compassionate regard for our afflictions; but

with great reluctance, and many a tear, we were obliged at last to part.

We had not been at home above two hours, before an express arrived from my master with news of his success; and that he would be at home in a fortnight. My mistress, and all the women who had husbands abroad, expressed their general joy in large bowls of toake. In the mean time I was very much indisposed, but tolerably well recovered before my master's return.

He made his public entry in a very triumphant manner; the trumpet-shells blowing, and crowds of people dancing before him all the way with their guns in their hands. On his first approach, the foremost men fired their guns towards the ground; which with them is the signal of a victorious return. Deaan Mevarrow, and his brother deaan Sambo, came after them with their attendants; next followed the cattle, which he had taken from the enemy, and the prisoners of war brought up the rear. After they were seated in form before my master deaan Mevarrow's house, not only his consort, attended by the other women of the town, came as usual, and licked his feet, but the men too, whom he left behind him when he went to war.

I stood all this time as a spectator, till he seeing me at a distance, called me to him. I approached him in the usual form of the country on such a public occasion; that is, with my hands lifted up, and in a praying posture. When I came near him, I paid him the compliment of *salamonger umba*; but did not kneel down as all the others did, having a kind of conscientious reluctance to such an act, as thinking it an adoration that I ought to pay to no one but the Supreme Being; but he seemed to resent my being so over religious; for he asked me, "If I thought it beneath me to pay him the same respect that his own wife, (who was a king's daughter,) and his own mother too, so readily condescended to?" However, I peremptorily refused, and told him, "I would obey all his lawful commands, and do whatever work he thought proper to employ me

in ; but this act of divine homage I could never comply with."

On this he fell into a violent passion, and upbraided me with being ungrateful, and insensible of his saving me from being killed among my countrymen ; and urged, moreover, that I was his slave, &c. ; but notwithstanding all this, I still continued resolute and firm to my purpose. Whereupon he rose from his seat, and with his lance made a stroke at me with all his might ; but his brother, by a sudden push on one side, prevented the mischief he intended. He was going to repeat his blow, but his brother interposed, and entreated him to excuse me ; but he absolutely, and in the warmest terms, refused to forgive me unless I would lick his feet. His brother begged he would give him a little time to talk with me in private, which he did ; and after he had told me the danger of not doing it, and that in submitting to it, I did no more than what many great princes were obliged to do when taken prisoners, I found, at length, it was prudence to comply ; so I went in, asked pardon, and performed the ceremony as others had done before me. He told me he readily forgave me, but would make me sensible I was a slave. I did not much regard his menaces, for as I had no prospect of ever returning to England, I set but little value on my life. The next day I incurred his displeasure again, and never expected to escape from feeling the weight of his resentment.

My master then performed the ceremony of thanksgiving to God, for his happy deliverance from all the hazards of war, and for the success of his arms ; which is performed in the following manner :—The inhabitants have in all their houses a small portable utensil, which is devoted to religious uses, and is a kind of household altar, which they call the *owley*. It is made of a peculiar wood, in small pieces neatly joined, and making almost the form of a half-moon with the horns downwards, between which are placed two alligator's teeth ; this is adorned with various kinds of beads, and such a sash fastened to it behind as a man ties about

his waist when he goes to war. [I shall not here pretend to give an exact account of their religious worship, for I had not been long enough in the country to be a perfect master of the true meaning of what they either did or said.] However, I observed that they brought two forks from the woods, and fixed them in the ground, on which was laid a beam, slender at each end, and about six feet long, with two or three pegs in it, and upon this they hung the owley. Behind it was a long pole, to which a bullock was fastened with a cord. They had a pan full of live coals, on which they threw an aromatic gum, and planted it under the owley. Then they took a small quantity of hair from the tail, chin, and eyebrows of the ox, and put them on the owley. Then deaan Mevarrow, my master, used some particular gestures with a large knife in his hand, and made a formal prayer, in which the people joined. In the next place they threw the ox on the ground with his legs tied fast together, and the deaan cut his throat ; for as there are no priests among them, the chief man, whether of the country, town, or family, performs all divine offices himself. As soon as the people were all seated on mats in a circular form, my master ordered me to sit down too, and say as the people said, which I absolutely refused. However he pursued his devotion, and when the service was over, took the owley in one hand and his lance in the other, and came directly to me, asking me with a frown, which I rather chose, either to assist in their solemn and public thanksgiving, or to a fall a sacrifice to his just resentment ? At first I was startled, but as I thought this sort of worship to be downright idolatry, and that they paid their adorations to the owley, I resolutely told him that I would sooner die than pay divine homage to any false deity whatsoever. Upon this, as soon as he had put the owley in its place, he came to me again, and taking me by the hand was determined to lead me out of the town and kill me ; but his brother and all the people round about him pleaded for me, and used their utmost endeavours to persuade him against so rash an action, but to no purpose ; till his

brother at last very warmly told him, he would that minute depart and see his face no more, if he offered to be guilty of such an act of inhumanity, and rose up to be gone accordingly. When my master saw his brother was going in good earnest, he called him back, and promised to spare my life ; but assured him he would punish me very severely for my contempt of his orders. Deaan Sambo told him, he should submit that to his own discretion ; all he begged of him was not to kill me. Upon this, by a secret sign, he advised me to kneel down and lick his feet, which I readily complied with, and asked his pardon. When I got up, I kneeled down to deaan Sambo of my own accord, and licked his feet as a testimony of my gratitude and respect for thus saving my life a second time.

As soon as this storm was blown over, I was remanded to my former post of cowkeeper. I had a great deal of trouble sometimes with these cattle, for they are very unruly ; and notwithstanding they are larger beasts than any I ever saw elsewhere of the kind, they are so nimble that they will leap over high fences like a greyhound. They have an excrescence between their shoulders, somewhat like that of camels, all fat and flesh ; some of which will weigh about three or four score pounds ; they are also beautifully coloured, some are streaked like a tiger, others, like a leopard, are marked with various spots. They do not give so much milk as our cows in England, nor will they ever suffer themselves to be milked till their calves have first sucked ; so that they keep one calf for every cow all the year, or till the cow is pregnant again, and they seldom miss a season. Here are also some sheep with large heavy tails, like Turkey sheep ; they are not woolly as ours, but more like a goat. Here are also a small number of goats, like those in other countries. They bring up no hogs, though there are enough in the country ; for they are so mischievous to the plantations, that we are forced to set traps to catch them ; but in this country of Anterndroea nobody eats them, except the very refuse of the people.

Whilst I was peaceably tending my cattle, and all things seemed perfectly quiet and easy, the scene of our affairs was changed at once by some sudden news, and my master was summoned to war in good earnest.

It is a common practice for parties to stroll out and surprise their enemies by night, when least they expect them : on these expeditions it is customary for every man to carry a piece of meat in his hand, and when they have entered a town in the dead of night they throw the meat to the dogs, in order to prevent their barking. When they are all got in, one fires a musket, but makes no other noise ; the inhabitants thereupon being alarmed, and hastily creeping out of the doors of their low huts in a stooping posture, are stabbed with lances : as to the women and children they take them captive, and drive away with them all the cattle they can find, set the town on fire, and return home by private unpractised ways. In this manner did my master, his brother, and some others belonging to deaan Crindo, enter several of the king of Mefaughla's remote and defenceless towns ; whereupon, in order to retaliate the indignity offered him, the injured king mustered up an army of three thousand men, and entered Anterndroea, with a firm resolution either to fight the deaan in the field, or attack him in his own town, called Fennoarevo ; and by fire to lay it level with the ground : accordingly he sent a messenger to deaan Crindo, to tell him that he should soon feel the weight of his just resentment. To which he answered, he would not stir out of the town but wait for him there ; and defied him to put his purpose in execution.

Deaan Crindo, therefore, summoned all his people to his assistance, and to be ready at hand in Fennoarevo, or the adjacent villages. He had four sons who were chiefs of towns, besides nephews and grandsons. His sons were deaan Mundumber, deaan Frukey, deaan Trodaughe, but deaan Chahary was unfortunately gone with five hundred able men to traffic into Feraighner ; which is Augustine-bay country.

It is a constant custom amongst them in time of



war to conceal their wives, children, and cattle in remote and secret places in the woods, that the enemy when they plunder the country may not be able to find them; but the women and children are never with the cattle, lest their bellowing should discover them. The women for the most part secure themselves, by trailing a bough after them as they go to their recess; which prevents their track from being followed. Thus did my master and his people secure their wives, children, and cattle. I was left with the latter; for that reason am incapable of giving an exact account of this war, knowing no more of it than what was told me at their return; which in general was to the following effect.

That deaan Woozington, the king, and his son Chermaundy, with Ryopheck his nephew, a gallant man who commanded the army of Merfaughla, entered the country without the least opposition; for deaan Crindo having received his menacing message, took care in the first place to secure the families and cattle belonging to his people, and then drew up all his armed men in the town, resolving to wait for his coming; but deaan Mundumber, Frukey, and the younger chiefs, had not patience to hear of his passing without resistance; so they prevailed on the king, though against his will, to let them go out with two thousand men and obstruct his march. Deaan Crindo, however, was resolute and would not stir out of the town. This army was commanded in chief by deaan Mundumber and Frukey; who behaved themselves with great courage and conduct, first sending word to deaan Woozington, that they were come by their father's command to give him a suitable reception into their country, and hoped he would not fail to meet them. To which he answered, he would most assuredly pay them a visit and make himself welcome; and was as good as his word. They joined battle, and Mundumber was obliged to retire, which he did in good order after a sharp and obstinate fight; in which deaan Woozington's son was dangerously wounded. Deaan Mundumber



returned to his father with eight hundred men and used his utmost endeavours to prevail on him to go out with his forces, and give deaan Woozington battle ; but the old king persisted in his first resolution. So Mundumber continued at home with him, and fortified the town as well as the time would admit.

After this, deaan Frukey and Trodaughe made themselves masters of a pass between two hills, and cut down several large trees to defend them ; by which means they entirely stopped deaan Woozington's progress, notwithstanding he attacked them in the most vigorous manner, and was as gallantly repulsed : at last, Ryopheck, by the direction of a man who was well acquainted with the country, got behind them, and deaan Woozington, at the same time, with Ryopheck charged them again. Frukey, however, and his brethren, were obliged to retire, which they did with great resolution, even through Ryopheck's party. In this action Ryopheck, who was always in the hottest place, with much difficulty escaped.

Though deaan Woozington at last arrived at Fenno-arevo, and attacked it in a vigorous manner, yet he was as bravely repulsed ; deaan Crindo and his sons resisting till they were overpowered, and when their enemies were got within the town, they even disputed every inch of ground, till deaan Crindo himself was obliged to cut down several trees, which are their walls, to make a way for their escape. He so much depended on his own courage and conduct, that he kept his wife and daughter in his own house, notwithstanding all the other women and children were sent away long before ; these unhappily fell into the hands of deaan Woozington, and were made his captives. The town was reduced to ashes, as soon as they had plundered it of such trifles as their treasures consist in, the principal of which are beads ; these they often conceal in holes : so that there is nothing to be got but iron shovels, hoes, earthen and wooden dishes, spoons, &c. some cattle, indeed, they found, which were brought into the town for their necessary subsistence during the siege ;

and in such cases these cattle live well enough upon the thatches of their houses. They had also filled a great many tubs with water.

Deaan Crindo was inconsolable for the loss of his wife and daughter, and like a distracted man ; when his sons told him if he would now join them, as he should have done at first, they were yet able to deal with deaan Woozington. And accordingly they mustered all their forces into one army, and made a number equal to their enemies. Deaan Woozington having no intelligence of this, was detaching a thousand men to plunder the country, and bring in all the women, children, and cattle they could find ; which is their constant practice after a complete victory. Just at this juncture deaan Crindo appeared with his potent army, and sent messengers to acquaint him that he must either deliver up the queen and princess with the other people and cattle he was possessed of, or immediately decamp and give them battle. Deaan Woozington in answer thereto, assured him he had no thoughts of detaining his wife and daughter, neither did he come for slaves or cattle, he having plenty of both ; but since deaan Crindo had sent him a challenge boasting of his superior strength, and bidding defiance to all the kings on the island, on account of the number of white men that were his friends, he came to see them ; but as he could find none, he hoped that the proud deaan Crindo was sufficiently mortified ; so he was ready to send him his wife and daughter again : but as to the few slaves and cattle which he had taken, his people should detain them to make themselves some compensation for the robberies which Mevarrow, and some others, had committed in his country.

At last a peace was concluded, and sworn to by the generals on both sides, with the usual formality of killing an ox, and eating a piece of the liver from off the point of a lance ; each general wishing at the same time, that whoever first fired a gun might die upon the spot. The ceremony being over, public rejoicings were made on both sides ; deaan Woozington returned into

his own country, and deaan Crindo to rebuild his shattered town, which was finished with the utmost expedition, and all his chiefs with their people repaired to their respective homes.

As soon as we were well settled again, three boys who belonged to some principal men of our town, and myself, were sent some miles off with about two hundred head of cattle, to look after them and provide for ourselves. There were not above five or six of them however, which gave milk, so that we were at a short allowance: if we expected any other diet, we must search for it in the woods, and get it where and when we could find it. My mistress furnished me with an earthen pot to warm my milk in, a calabash to drink out of, and a mat to lie upon. My master gave me a hatchet to make fences with, and a lance to fight with if any body came to steal my cattle: he also gave me a new clout, to wear after their country fashion, my old one being worn out; the common people seldom wear one broader than a napkin; they call it a lamber, and so shall I for the future; the name of a—se-clout (by which our English seamen distinguish it by way of derision) being too vulgar an expression.

We drove our cattle to the proposed place, and the first thing we employed ourselves about was, the erection of a house, which we completed in about a day and a half. We finished our cow pen next, and made a small one for the calves, to keep them from sucking while we milked the cows. Our house, however, was but a poor little hut, and but badly thatched; and it being the rainy season, (which is their winter, and sometimes very cold,) we had but a very indifferent lodging. We kept, indeed, a fire, and happy was he who could lie nearest it; for we had no other covering than our lambers, which we pulled off to lay over us. Now I began to feel the weight of my slavery, being almost famished; for all the food we could get, was a small fowl now and then, which creeps upon the ground; and which we caught in traps.

We lived in this melancholy situation almost three months, but at last we formed a project for killing one of our master's beasts, and dressing it in private. A great many schemes were offered, till at length I proposed one, which was unanimously agreed to ; namely, to kill a cow by stabbing her in the side with a sharp pointed stick, and make the horn of another cow, which belonged to the same man, all over bloody, that he might imagine the misfortune came by goring. But then a debate arose, whose beast should be killed ; for every one was unwilling that his master should be the sufferer. However, I soon determined that point, by drawing lots with four sticks shorter than each other ; and I so contrived it, that I kept the longest in my hand, and by that means secured my master's.

When the job was done, away ran the boy to inform his master that one heifer had killed another ; he and his family came immediately upon the news, and finding a cow with a bloody horn, they all concluded it was done by her. Though the master was sadly nettled at the disaster, yet he soon cut up the dead beast, and gave us a good large piece of it, besides the legs and the entrails ; and then went home again. Thus far our scheme succeeded to our wish, but our principal aim was, under colour of having meat given us by our masters, to despatch another heifer privately ; and if any person happened to see us (as we were not far from strangers, though we were from our own homes) and ask how we came by our beef, we could say our masters gave it us. But success made us too bold, for one day having killed a beast that had strayed from some other people amongst ours, our masters came to see their cattle, which they found in the cow pens, but finding none of us near them, they began to suspect us : whereupon they divided themselves, and made a more narrow inquiry ; one of them heard a noise in the wood, like the felling of trees, where we were very busy ; and following the sound, they soon smelt roast-meat : in short, our masters surprised us, and came at

once amongst us with their guns cocked, crying out, *vonne terach com boar*; which in English is, kill the sons of bitches.

The reader may imagine we were frightened to the last degree, and expected nothing but immediate death; and indeed it proved almost fatal to the other three. They asked us whose beast it was? We answered, a strange one. They told us, however, that the crime was the same; for if we had practised the art of killing cattle privately, they were sensible that theirs must some time or other be our prey, when no others offered; and for that reason were resolved to punish us with the utmost severity. Hereupon each of my comrades' masters took his slave, and in an instant castrated him. I, not relishing that sort of punishment, fell down at my master's feet, and endeavoured all I could to convince him that I had been peculiarly careful of his cattle; and told him, moreover, that I would stand the chance of being killed by submitting myself to be shot at, provided he stood at any reasonable distance; or run any other hazard he should think fit, rather than be deprived of my manhood. My proposition was accepted, and accordingly he took me out of the wood and tied my arms behind me round a tree, and placed himself at about fourscore yards; then seeming to take good aim at me, fired, but missed me: whether he did it on purpose I can't say, but I presume he did; imagining the terror was sufficient, having seen how severely the others were punished. They went away, and told us if ever they found us at such pranks again, nothing should save us from immediate death.

They were no sooner gone from us than I began to reflect on the injustice of our masters, who, though they had cattle of their own, would frequently oblige us to go with them on their thievish expeditions; and yet so severely punish us for one poor crime to satisfy our craving appetites. However, after all, I was forced to be doctor to my comrades in distress, for their masters took no care of them; so I warmed some water and washed off the blood, and dressed their wounds: I was

also forced while we remained there to look after all the cattle, and milk them too ; for they were not perfectly recovered, when orders were brought us to return with our cattle. As my poor comrades could scarce walk, I made the messenger who came to us assist me in driving the cattle home.

When I came home, I was soon informed that deaan Tuley-Noro, king of Antenosa, had given my master all this trouble by marching his people into Anterndroea, and demanding satisfaction of deaan Crindo for the murder of the white men. Now, though this was two years and a half before (for so long I had been in the country) yet I soon heard that captain Drummond, captain Steward, Mr. Bembo, and the rest, who escaped the night before the massacre, were with him ; and that there had not been, during all that time, a ship at Port Dauphine, for them to return in ; but that notwithstanding they lived free and entirely at their own disposal. This deaan Tuley-Noro was king Samuel, whom I mentioned before, and whose dominions were on the other side of the river Manderra.

As soon as I got home I was taken from the cattle, and two men were ordered to guard me and see that I did not run away to king Samuel. The next day we heard the Antenosa people were within ten miles of our town, which put them all into a great hurry and confusion. The cattle were sent one way, and the women and children another ; poor Robin, their white slave, was along with them, but had his hands tied behind him. I had not been long there before a messenger came to my mistress in great haste, with order to send me to my master in the camp, for the white men were to purchase me, and proposed to give two Buccaneer guns as a valuable consideration. My mistress was loth to part with me ; I dissembled as much as I could, and showed a seeming reluctance at parting since I had been so long amongst them ; though at the same time I struggled hard to conceal my joy. I kneeled down and licked her feet, thanking her for all her favours, and away I went with the messenger, in

great hopes now of seeing some of my countrymen again, and getting a passage to England. But see how fortune tantalized me ! It was twenty miles, or thereabouts, to the camp where my master was ; and it might be somewhat after midnight when we arrived there : my master set a watch over me the remaining part of the night, and made me swear I would never discover the hiding places of their wives and cattle ; which I readily complied with.

The next morning king Samuel sent to know if I was come, and desired they would permit a hundred men to be sent down with me between the two camps ; and he would send the like number to meet them with the two Buccaneer guns. This being agreed to, deaan Crindo ordered my master to go with the party ; and king Samuel seeing them approach, gave directions for his men to meet them ; among whom were captain Drummond, and the rest of the white men. When we came near one another, captain Drummond, being glad to see me, called me by my name ; and asked me how I did. My master, thereupon, clapped his hand upon my mouth, and vowed if I offered to speak he would kill me ; so that I durst not return any answer. Captain Drummond finding I made no reply, imagined, as I suppose, that I could not hear, whereupon he and the white men came nearer. My master, on their approach, thought they came to take me by force, and cheat them of the two guns ; upon this he ordered his men to fire at them : so that instead of a parley and an exchange of me for the two guns, a skirmish ensued, and both armies advanced to support each other's party. I was immediately sent away under a strong guard to the woods, where I parted with my mistress the night before : so that this pleasing prospect of deliverance was nothing more than a short transitory dream of liberty, which immediately vanished ; and made me only feel the weight of slavery much more sensibly than before. Which way I returned back I cannot tell ; but sure I am, I was in such a disorder of mind as a condemned criminal is when going to execution. In a few



hours, however, I found myself in my former station ; my legs in parra-pingo (a fastening almost like fetters) for fear I should run away : my old companions stood round about me, and my mistress and the women were glad to see me again. But I was in too melancholy a mood to return them any compliments ; nor could they extract from me any thing but tears and exclamations at my hard fortune. I wished for death, and was very near being gratified in my desire two days after.

The next day news came that deaan Tuley-Noro was returning back to his own country ; he being (as they said) obliged to retire by deaan Crindo, though the Antenosa army was twice their number. We were also ordered to return home, and I was released from parra-pingo, and set at liberty ; my guard being also discharged.

The day following came deaan Mevarrow, deaan Sambo, and their little army, entering the town with great pomp and grandeur, as if they had gained some extraordinary victory ; though I heard of nothing but a little bush-fighting and ambuscades. The deaan, however, sat himself down with his brother, the other chiefs, and the rest in the usual form before his house : my mistress, according to custom, crept out to lick her hero's feet ; when she had done, the rest of the women performed the same ceremony ; and after them the slaves, among whom I was one. As I was getting up to depart, he ordered me to stay ; I stood some time to hear him tell his wife, how like a coward deaan Tuley-Noro behaved himself, though he had twice their number of men. After he had told his tale, he turned his head, and with an angry countenance asked me what the white men said when they called me ? Sir, said I, they only asked me how I did ? And nothing else, said he. I replied, no, sir. At this he rose up in a rage, cocked his gun, and put the muzzle to my breast ; saying, if I did not tell him the truth he would shoot me that moment. I was not much daunted, as I had little or no regard for my life in my then melancholy humour ; so with little concern I repeated what I said.



At this he pulled the trigger, but Providence being pleased to preserve me for some other purpose, the cock snapped, and missed fire. Whether the prime was wet in the pan, or by what other miracle it was I escaped his fury, I cannot say ; but that not succeeding to his wish, he took his lance to stab me ; when his brother and the rest of his chief men ran in between us and told him it was cruel and inhuman, and that he had better have killed me at first, than saved me only to terrify me with death on every slight occasion ; there being no reason at all for such severe treatment. With much persuasion he returned to his seat and told them there were just grounds to suspect the white men had formed a design to commit some treacherous action, since they came nearer than they ought to have done. And, indeed, their fears proceeded from a natural dread they have of white men, ten of whom will drive fifty black men before them. Besides, captain Drummond and the rest being completely armed with pistols in their girdles, was an additional terror to them. What was the true reason of king Samuel's retiring I know not ; but when this broil was over, my curiosity led me to understand the whole affair ; which was thus related to me.

King Samuel's intention was to have marched directly to Fennoarevo, and fall upon deaan Crindo before he could be provided for him : his way lay over a large plain called Ambovo, leading to a great wood ; through which they must also pass. Deaan Crindo having more timely notice than they expected, laid an ambuscade in the wood ; king Samuel being lame of the gout was carried on men's shoulders ; they suffered him and great part of his army to enter the wood, and then gave the signal : whereupon deaan Crindo's men arose and attacked them so vigorously and with so much advantage, (knowing the wood which the others did not,) that king Samuel himself was in danger of being taken ; but was gallantly defended by the white men, and others of his bravest people. They were obliged, however, to retire into the plain, where they

encamped, as did deaan Crindo's people close by the wood side, and even in it; by that means securing themselves from the superior number of the Antenosia army, which, as they were informed, consisted of six thousand men. Here they came to a parley: king Samuel sent one of his chiefs to acquaint deaan Crindo, that he had no intention to deprive him either of his cattle or his slaves; but that as he had been brought up among white men, all such were his friends; and he looked on himself obliged in duty and honour to demand some satisfaction of deaan Crindo, for the white men he had so inhumanly sacrificed to his resentment; and if there were any yet alive, he desired to have them in order to send them to their native country.

Deaan Crindo gave good attention to the messenger, and then returned an answer to this effect: that he wondered deaan Tuley-Noro should concern himself with other people's affairs; that as to the white men who were shipwrecked on his coast, he looked upon it, that the great God had sent them there for his assistance; and that as he had a potent enemy, and was conscious of the white men's courage, as well as superior skill in war, he should not slight the help his gods had sent him. Accordingly he treated them with the utmost civility as friends, and maintained them in as handsome a manner as his country would afford; they wanting for nothing he could procure them: and after all, though they had in so violent a manner seized him, and prince Murnanzack, and made them prisoners, he would condescend so far to Tuley-Noro to inform him (though under no obligations to give him an account of his actions, or frame any excuses) that neither he, nor prince Murnanzack was present, or any way aiding or abetting in their deaths; but that action was done by some of his sons and nephews to revenge the indignity offered to himself and prince Murnanzack. And to convince him he did not tell him this as a plea, through a mean spirited fear; since his sons thought fit to do it, he would justify and defend them in it; and thought they did the white men justice. That he knows

out of one that was living out of four boys, who were saved at that time, whom by inquiry he finds to be in deaan Mevarrow's hands: as to the other three, one died by sickness; the second was killed by his master for his obstinacy and perverseness; and the third ran away or was lost; for nobody knew what was become of him: and as to him who was living, he should not have him without paying such a ransom as his master required.

Now, by several circumstances, I am apt to imagine, that this answer might seem highly reasonable to king Samuel; and that in my opinion prevailed more on him to return to Antenosá, than all the force my master boasted of, or than all that Crindo's army was capable of performing.

They told me, however, that king Samuel in his answer hereto, excused the violence the white men offered to deaan Crindo, by asserting that they did it only to secure their liberty; that they did not, nor ever intended to hurt or injure him. However, as there was no raising the dead to life, if he would send six hundred head of cattle, it should be deemed a sufficient compensation; as for me, he was ready and willing to purchase me, and desired to know what they demanded for my redemption. Deaan Crindo sent word that with respect to me, they insisted on two Buccaneer guns; but as to his demand of six hundred head of cattle, he was not to have laws, or any arbitrary commands imposed on him by any king whomsoever; that if they wanted provision he was ready to supply him: for it should not be said that deaan Tuley-Noro came to see him, and he would not give him a dinner; and for that reason he had ordered his people to present him with six oxen and a bull.

King Samuel, as some would have it, resented this as an affront, and would have attacked the Anterndroeans immediately upon it, but was dissuaded by captain Drummond and the rest, there being no likelihood of any engagement but bush-fighting; which must be to the advantage of the Anterndroeans in their own

country, who were in possession of the wood : so finding that no other terms would be agreeable, they accepted of deaan Crindo's present, which his men wanted, indeed, and went on in their parley about me ; the success whereof you have already seen. However,

I must not pass over a piece of superstition practised here. There are a sort of people in this country who pretend to a profound knowledge in the magical virtue of roots, trees, plants, and other products of the like nature ; and of their power to perform wondrous things by charms composed of them. One of these conjurers, or Umossees (as the natives call them) prevailed on deaan Crindo to take a certain powder which he gave him, and to strip off a piece of the skin of the tail of a white bull, because deaan Tuley-Noro was a whitish man, and to clap this powder upon the wound ; as also to mix some of it with water, and give it to the bull to drink thereof, before it was given to the Antenosa men. Now this was not done in order to make the creature unwholesome, and by that means to procure deaths, or diseases among their enemies in the common way ; but with a view to work some witchcraft or supernatural operation upon them. Now it happened that in two months after this king Samuel died : at that time he was very infirm, and had been so long before ; which, with the fatigue of this journey, might hasten his end. There was not wanting, however, people superstitious enough to think his death was the effect of this incantation ; though it is reasonable to suppose he eat none of the bull, there being oxen at the same time ; for these negroes would make oxen no more than we white men, were they not sensible that the flesh of them is in all respects more grateful to the taste than that of bulls.

And since I have had an opportunity of saying thus much of king Samuel, I suppose my reader will be so curious as to inquire who this king with a christian name was ? and what reason should induce him to assist us, and revenge our wrongs ? His living near the sea, and the immense treasure he and his people amassed together by trading with the English, may

serve as a sufficient motive for the friendship this king showed to our people : and indeed they are friends to the English all over the island, except in some few places far distant from the sea. King Samuel's history, however, being very particular, I shall here relate it as I had it at different times from the natives themselves. Whether any of the French authors of voyages have written any memoirs concerning him, I cannot positively affirm ; nor have I had the opportunity of seeing their histories of Madagascar, to compare them with my own ; I shall not, therefore, vary from the account I had of it, whether it be agreeable to what others have said, or not.

This part of the country to which the French have given the name of Port Dauphine, is called in the Madagascar language Antenosia. There came hither about ninety years ago two French ships, on what account I cannot learn ; however they came to an anchor close under the land, in a very good harbour. The captain observing that there were plenty of cattle, and all provisions, as also a very good soil, determined that one of them should stay here, and establish a settlement : hereupon they cast lots who should continue on the island, and the person on whom the lot fell was captain Mesmerrico. [I must here desire my reader to observe, that this is the name by which the natives distinguish him ; though in all probability as they are unlearned they may pronounce it very incorrectly : but, besides, as it is some considerable time since, and they have no writings or records, so consequently, they can have no other history than that of tradition, from father to son, and so on to succeeding generations.] This captain Mesmerrico landed with two hundred white men, well armed, and provided with store of ammunition and other necessaries for the building of a fort, which they immediately began. No sooner had the natives observed their intention, than they used their utmost art and industry to prevent them : this created a war, in which the French were the victors, who took at several times a great number of prisoners. In this war the king

of Antenosa and his brother were killed ; and amongst many other children that were made captives, the king's son was one. When the French had suppressed the natives and completed their fort, the ships set sail for France, and carried this young prince and several others of distinction with them.

In about a year after this expedition, the natives began to be better reconciled to the French ; notwithstanding they were secretly disgusted at the indignity offered to their young prince, and could by no means relish the government and direction of foreigners. However, the French, by their artful and cunning deportment and insinuations, gained so much friendship amongst them, that they married, and lived up and down in several towns, at some distance from each other, and not above five or six in a place. They occasionally assisted the natives in their wars against a king that resides to the northward, whom they defeated, took a great number of slaves and many cattle. In this manner they lived for some years with great tranquillity, neglecting their fort, and extending themselves all over the whole country of Antenosa : but at last, as their families grew numerous, the natives grew jealous ; and recollecting how inhumanly they had treated their prince, and perceiving them thus scattered and dispersed, they thought this a favourable opportunity to free themselves from a foreign yoke. Hereupon they formed a conspiracy to cut off all the white men in one day ; and the Wednesday following it was put in execution, not leaving a white man alive in Antenosa.

Soon after a French ship came there as usual ; the maurominters, or slaves, who retained a respect for the French, got a canoe and went off to them, and informed them that their countrymen were all massacred. The captain was startled, and deeply concerned at this melancholy news, but could not revenge their cause, being glad to steer another course without making the least attempt to go on shore.

Having now nobody to interrupt them, they put their government into its original form, and made choice of

one for their king, who was the most nearly related to the former ; there being no other son than he whom the French took captive. Under this new king's direction they lived peaceably and quietly for several years, no French ship ever presuming to come near them ; but now and then an English ship paid them a visit ; and they traded in a very fair and honest manner with the officers on board.

Some years afterwards, a French ship, homeward-bound from India, happened to be in great distress for want of water and provisions, and could not compass the Cape. Port Dauphine lay very commodious for the captain, but he knew that the natives were their implacable enemies, neither was he ignorant of the real occasion ; and therefore resolved to make use of the following stratagem. Under a pretence of being sent ambassador from the French king, he went on shore in great pomp, and with proper attendants. The ship lay at anchor as near the shore as possible, in order to be within reach of their guns in case any acts of hostility should be shown them. The natives who came down to them, asked if they were English or French ? They replied, the latter ; but they were sent by express orders from the French king with some valuable presents, and were inclined to make a treaty of peace. The king they had last chosen, whom I mentioned before, died about a month before their arrival, and no new one was then elected in his stead ; but the old queen (mother of the prince whom they had so clandestinely conveyed away some years before) being then alive, gave directions that the ambassador should be conducted to her house. His men carried a great many things of no great value amongst them ; but such, however, as they knew would be highly agreeable in this country. These were formally presented in the name of the French king, and the queen testified her satisfaction in the reception of them, by entertaining the captain in the most elegant manner she could devise. This day passed in compliments, mutual presents, and such other ceremonies as were consistent with their ideas of public



grandeur ; the next day she sent for the captain and informed him, that she expected his men, as well as himself, should take the oaths according to the custom of her country.

The captain having readily agreed to her proposition, the ceremony was performed after the following manner :—the holy owley, of which we have already given some account, was brought out and hung upon a piece of wood laid crosswise on two forks, all which were cut down on this solemn occasion ; as was also a long pole, to which a bullock was fastened : this was provided by the queen, and when killed, they took part of the tail, and some of the hair of the nose and eyebrows, and put them on some live coals that were under the owley ; they then took some of the blood, which they sprinkled upon it, and upon the beam whereon it hung ; the liver also was roasted, and a piece placed on it ; two other pieces were put on two lances, which were stuck in the ground betwixt the queen and the ambassador ; the queen swore first to this, or the like effect :—“ I swear by the great God above, by the four gods of the four quarters of the world, by the spirits of my forefathers, and before this holy owley, that neither I, nor any of my offspring, nor any of my people, who assist at this solemnity, or their issue, shall or will wittingly, or willingly, kill any Frenchman, unless he prove the first aggressor : and if we, or any of us, mean any other than the plain and honest truth by this protestation, may this liver, which I now eat, be converted into poison, and destroy me on the spot.”

Having repeated this form of words, she took the piece of liver off the lance and eat it, and when she had done, the sham-ambassador did the same.

The captain, or quondam ambassador, stayed on shore about three or four days after this solemn contract, and sent on board what provision his people wanted. A firm friendship being now established between them, they strove who should outvie the other in the arts of courtesy and complaisance. The captain invited the queen to go on board his vessel, and she very



readily went with several of the chief of her people, who were treated by the captain with great magnificence, and to her entire satisfaction. She returned on shore in the ship's boat, and stood looking about her for some time after she was landed. The Frenchmen, not regarding the presence of the black queen, stripped and swam about to wash and cool themselves; the queen observing the whiteness of their skins, indulged her curiosity in looking on them; at last, perceiving one man whose skin was much darker than the rest of his companions, as he came toward the shore, and was going to put on his clothes, she espied a particular mole under his left breast; she went to him immediately, and looking more wishfully on it, would not permit him to put on his shirt, but claimed him as her son, who had been carried away, when a child, many years before; and had not patience to contain herself, but ran to him, (crying for joy that she had found her son,) threw her arms about his neck, and almost stifled him with kisses. This surprised all the people, as well blacks as whites, till having recovered herself a little, she turned to them and told them this was her son, and showed them the private mark. They who had known the young prince drew near, viewed the mole, and acquiesced with her that it must be he, and no other. The Frenchmen could not tell what to make of this odd discovery, nor what might be the fatal consequences that might possibly attend it.

The captain, therefore, taking the man aside, advised him to give as artful answers as he could to what questions they should ask him for their safety's sake. Now there were several blacks who spoke French, and by their means the Frenchmen as soon understood the queen as they did. She desired they would ask him if he knew the country he was born in? He answered, he could remember nothing of it, for he was carried from his native place when a child. She asked him if he knew her? He said, he could not pretend to say absolutely that he did, but he thought she bore a great

resemblance to somebody he was much used to when young.

This confirmed them more and more in their opinion. As to his being white-skinned, they thought that might easily be from his wearing clothes during the time he was absent from home; his hair was as black as theirs, so that it was concluded it must be their prince. The old queen was transported with joy at finding her son, and the natives were for choosing him their king directly, he being the next heir. They asked what was his name. He told them he never remembered that he was called by any other name than that of Samuel; but they gave him what they thought was his original name, compounded with Tuley, which denoted his return, or arrival; so they called him deaan Tuley-Noro. Deaan, it may be observed, is a universal title of honour, and signifies lord; and he was also farther saluted immediately with the title of Panzacker, that is, king of Antenosa.

The captain and other Frenchmen were surprised to find the man play his part so dexterously; not perceiving, at first, that he was in earnest, and was as fond of being their king as they were of electing him, though it was in so heathenish a place. He had here twelve thousand fighting men immediately under his command, and a fine, spacious, and plentiful country to live in at his pleasure. The ship's crew sailed away and left him behind them; but as often as the French had occasion for what this island afforded, they made it a constant practice to put into Port Dauphine, and traffic with him.

About three or four years before we were cast away, a French ship happening to be there, some of the men got drunk on shore, and in a quarrel with some of the natives, told them that king Samuel was not their lawful prince, but that he was still resident in France. This might have proved of very fatal consequence to him, but he took such care to prevent it, as no one could justly blame him for. He sent for the man who

made this public declaration, and ordered him to be shot to death; he commanded, likewise, his companions to depart forthwith, and assured them, that if ever they, or any of their countrymen presumed to come within his territories again, they should feel the weight of his resentment. And our man, who advised us from putting into Port Dauphine, being informed of this last adventure, made him say he was barbarous to all white people; but he had heard the story imperfectly, and from thence arose the mistake which proved so fatal to us.

By this conference between deaan Crindo and king Samuel, I came to the knowledge of what happened to the white boys, who were my fellow captives, at least, so far as the natives knew themselves; as also, that the prince whom we seized and made prisoner with deaan Crindo, their king, was not, properly speaking, his son, but deaan Murnanzack, his nephew, whose right deaan Crindo had usurped, as we find in the sequel of this story; but a word in their language, signifying offspring, and comprehending as well grandsons and nephews, as sons, was the cause of our mistake. But,

To return to my own history: the contest between my master and me being pretty well over, through the intercession of deaan Sambo and the other chiefs, he ordered me to go and work in the plantations, and told me with a stern countenance, that if I hoed the caravances and weeds together, as I did before, he would hoe my —— out. I went away very well satisfied, not caring where I was sent, so it was but out of his sight, for he now became more my aversion than ever.

Our plantation was near five miles from home, and he seldom came above once in a month to visit us. As to my maintenance, or that of the rest of his slaves, we must provide for ourselves, or starve, for he never concerned himself about us. However, each man had as much land as he thought proper to cultivate for his own use, and one day in a week without control. When I first came there, I thought I must have starved. I was obliged on moonlight nights, after I had done

my task, to go into the woods and hunt out for wild yams for my sustenance, and too often I found no more than was sufficient for one meal; which, however, I was forced to husband to the best advantage.

My fellow slaves were, indeed, as courteous to me as I could well expect; and as they had plantations of their own, they gave me carravances and such other victuals as they had; especially on dark nights, and at such times as I could not shift for myself. I worked sometimes two nights in a week in cleaning and burning down the weeds and other things off the spot of ground I had allotted for my own plantation; the best root, however, that I could plant to produce myself food in a short time was potatoes. I lived in this miserable plight for nearly three months successively, and it was a year before I was well settled, and could say I had plenty.

Honey is one of the most profitable, as well as most useful things this country produces; and they may have it in plenty, if they will but take proper care. There is little trouble in the management of bees, which are here very numerous; they will readily come to their hives, or toakes, as the natives call them, and I took a particular delight in making them. They are part of the body of a tree, called fontuoletch; which is first cut off about a yard long, and then split right down. After we have dug out the middle with our hatchets, in which operation we are not over nice, we bind the two parts together in their natural position, so that the hive is a hollow cylinder; we leave a hole at the bottom for the bees to enter, and this is all the care that need be taken.

I had a large stock of these hives, but my neighbours too often plundered them. Once, however, I caught a young fellow; and about three or four days after, I went to his father to demand satisfaction for the honey he stole, and the destruction of my hives. The old man made very few words with me, but gave me two hatchets, a hoe, and ten strings of beads. I was very well satisfied with this compensation, and looked upon

myself as no inconsiderable person; but soon after, I found out a sure method to preserve my honey; the relation whereof will give the reader an adequate idea of almost the only superstition to which these people are addicted.

I have made mention before of the Umossees who pretend to be magicians, sorcerers, and fortune-tellers. One of these was on his travels from Antenosia into our country, and took up his lodgings at my master's town; my master had been that day in the woods to visit his beehives, and perceived several of them robbed of their store: he returned before night in a very great passion, and threatened to shoot the person that was found stealing his honey, let him be who he would. This Umossee coming to pay his respects to him just at that time, and hearing his complaint, told him he could give him a secret, or charm, that would effectually prevent his honey from being stolen; but he was afraid to communicate it, because it would infallibly kill the person who should but taste of it. Deaan Mevarrow replied, he did not care if they were all killed. Hereupon, it was agreed, that the Umossee should have two cows and two calves, in case his project proved effectual, and should stay to see the desired success.

Accordingly, the next morning, he went into the woods and singled out a tree which the natives call roe-bouche; we have none like it in England, nor is it very material, for any tree would have done his business, I presume, as well. He went to the eastward of this tree and dug up a piece of its root, and then turned to the westward, and dug up another piece; after this, he took the eastern root, and ordered deaan Mevarrow to rub it on a stone with a little water, and sprinkle the water among the bees, and the honeycombs in the hives; and, if any one, said he, shall steal the honey, and eat the least morsel of it in a quarter of a day, (for they reckon not by hours, as we do,) they will swell and break out in spots, like a leopard, from head to foot, and in three days they will die. Deaan Mevarrow was highly pleased at this discovery, and said,

how shall I do when I want to make use of my honey for myself and family? The Umossee replied, the remedy is here in my hand, which is no other than a root of the same tree, but dug to the westward; and when you take your honey, rub a little of this upon another stone with water, and sprinkle the hives; this being done, your eastern root will have no power. But if any one have stolen your honey, and feel the bad effects of it, and you are inclined to be merciful and save his life, give him a small quantity of this western root, which he called vauhovalumy, or root of life, and it will take down all the swelling; the spots will all vanish, and the person be restored to his former state of health.

All this was mighty well, but the principal point was to try the virtues of it, and see if it would answer all these fine purposes of the Umossee, which deaan Mearrow was somewhat doubtful of, though very eager to know; and therefore, having sprinkled his hives with the eastern root according to directions, he proposed it to several to make the experiment, and he would give them an ox as a reward, but nobody would venture; Whereupon he ordered it to be published about the country, and by this means I came to hear of it. Now I had before observed the simplicity of the people on these occasions, and plainly perceived that these artful Umossees took the advantage of their ignorance to cheat and impose upon them. I was very sensible there was nothing more in all this, and that it had already met with the effect desired, by striking terror into the people; and having a considerable quantity of honey myself, I imagined, if I gave out that I had the secret, it would also preserve mine. I sent word, therefore, to my master, that I would oblige him if he would communicate the secret to me, in case I survived the experiment. He not only sent for me immediately, and agreed to my proposal, but made me a promise of a considerable reward besides.

I went, accordingly, with my master and several others to the hive, which was sprinkled, as they call it,

with the poison; and swallowed the honey down by handfuls before them, asking them at the same time if they would eat some with me? They would not touch it, they said, for ten thousand cattle; making several grimaces in the mean time, and expecting every moment some dismal calamity would befall me for my presumption. When I had filled my belly, my master would have me home with him, in order to have the cure at hand, but I chose rather to stay with my comrades; by which means, I had time to contrive some way to deceive them. As fortune would have it, being in the fields, I saw at some distance a calf sucking a cow; and nobody being in sight, I tied up the calf with my lamber, and milked the cow into my mouth as long as ever I could. This, and the honey together, had the desired effect, for it began to swell me immediately, and rumbled in my belly so loud that it might be heard. Away went I to my comrades, who perceiving my belly swelled, and hearing the unusual noise, advised me to run home, and cry out I was poisoned. I pretended to step behind a hedge on some private occasion, but it was only to whip myself with some nettles. The pimples and redness raised from this stratagem terrified them still more and more; for there appeared on me all the symptoms of poison which the Umossee had before described; and to crown the deceit, you may be sure I did not fail to comply, and cry out most heartily; thereupon, some ran before me, and others helped me home.

My master, before I came, had prepared the water with the vauhovalumy, or root of life; the people, terrified at the danger I was in, flocked round the house; some pitied me, and stood astonished at the profound learning of the Umossee, who did not, himself, perceive the cheat. Well, I drank the medicine, and after reposing myself for three or four hours, all the tokens of danger disappeared, and I was well. The vauhovalumy was looked upon as a sovereign medicine, and the Umossee as a very great and wise man, who did not a little value himself upon the success of his secret,



repenting that he had parted with it at so cheap a rate; saying, he would have twenty cows for it of the next that wanted it. Deaan Mevarrow, as a gratification, bid him choose any two cows and two calves out of all his cattle in the cow-pen, which he did accordingly, and departed. My master, on my promise of secrecy, discovered both the roots to me, and showed me not only how to find them, but how to use them to the best advantage; for the pain, he imagined, I had suffered, and the hazard I underwent, he presented me with a cow and calf; I then thought I had spent my time to a very good purpose.

When I returned to my plantation, my neighbours and fellow-slaves having observed the sudden and terrible effects of this poison, begged of me to put a mark upon all my hives, that when they went out a honey-stealing, they might not be killed by eating any of mine. This was the very thing I aimed at, and, accordingly, I put a white stick before every hive, and never lost my honey afterwards. Nobody would go near my hives for fear my bees should sting them, and the wounds should prove of more dangerous consequence than those of others.

Having now a cow and a calf, I had milk of my own, and was as rich as my fellow-slaves; besides the advantage I made of my honey, by selling forty or fifty gallons a year for hatchets, beads, &c., to those who make toake with it; more especially against their circumcision, and other solemn festivals.

I lived in this manner about three years, which, with the two years and a half I had spent before, made up almost an apprenticeship in this country. One day my master came to survey our work, and taking peculiar notice of the method I observed, he told me I must go home with him and keep his cattle, which were near the town. This employment was not near so laborious as digging and cultivating his plantation; however, I was pretty well improved, but as he provided for me now, and my honey was safe, I was not much concerned at my removal; so away I went, driving my



own cattle, which were considerably increased, having two heifers, besides my cow and calf. My household furniture too was not so cumbersome, but I was able to carry it all away at once; yet I was as rich, and had as much as other people in my mean station, and much more than many of them.

In less than two days I built me a house, and a cow-pen for my cattle. Now was I in my former situation, and looking after my master's cattle; the hardest of my labour was, as I observed before, the bringing home every other night, either a tub or a calabash, four or five miles, full of water; but considering I was a slave, I lived in as much ease as I could reasonably expect.

I had not continued long in this last station, before a general calamity reduced us to the most deplorable circumstances. The epidemical evil of this island is, their frequent animosities and open quarrels with one another, which is the principal reason why such numbers of them are sold to the Europeans for slaves. This is a dangerous and destructive misfortune to a people, otherwise good-natured and well disposed; who have wholesome laws for the determination of all disputes, and the punishment of all crimes, of which I shall give an account in a more proper place; but what I have to observe here is, that the sovereign prince of any country has seldom force sufficient to oblige the lesser chiefs in his dominions to answer, in a judicial way, to the wrongs they do each other, or the mistakes and errors which they casually commit; but they fight it out, making slaves of, impoverishing, and destroying one another, after the manner I am now going to relate, in which I myself was a severe sufferer.

All things appeared in a state of peace and tranquillity. No foreign enemy for a long time molested us. But what I took particular notice of when first a slave, was, my master and others clandestinely driving away their neighbours' cattle, and their neighbours being equally guilty of the same practice, so that it was a

very difficult point to determine who was the aggressor in the present quarrel. But one day, as I and some others went about five or six miles to water our cattle, having two men armed with guns to guard us according to custom, it happened, on our return home, that notwithstanding the greater number of them went on slowly, grazing as they passed along, some of the milch cows, wanting to be sucked by their calves, ran home-wards before the rest. The man knowing me to be very active and nimble, desired me to run forwards and stop them, in order to keep them in a body; but they being got at a great distance, it was some time before I could turn them. When I wheeled about, I was surprised to see one of our men shooting amongst a body of men, who were driving the cattle another way, and running from them towards me; they soon espied us, and our cattle, and ran after us. Hereupon I quitted my post, and fled as fast as I could home to my master, and was the first messenger to relate our disaster. I puffed and blowed, being frightened, and out of breath, and in imperfect exclamations I told him, that an army had seized our cattle; and that one of our men, named Roynsowra, had fired and killed somebody; but I could not inform him who the enemy were, nor on what account they thus attacked us. While my master and some others were discoursing with me, in came two or three more, who informed them that deaan Chahary and his brother deaan Frukey, two of deaan Crindo's sons, were the parties concerned. Our master, it seems, had been found guilty of stealing three of deaan Frukey's cattle, and this they did by way of retaliation. All was in an uproar and confusion at once. Each man took up his arms in a hurry. Deaan Mevarrow ordered them to follow him, which they were as much inclined to do as he was to lead them, for the loss was general. All the milch cows and home-kept cattle were gone, and now away went all the men in pursuit of them, except such as were old and infirm. Amongst others, I was demolished, having lost my cow and my two heifers; my calf, indeed, was left at home, lowing

for its dam, as did every body's else; between which vociferations, and the outcries of the women and children, there was a most confused and hideous uproar.

Deaan Frukey, who then was, or at least pretended to be, the injured person, lived within two or three miles of our watering-place; but they drove our cattle more to the northward, to deaan Chahary's town, which was better fortified, and much more capable of sustaining the assault, which they justly imagined we should make against it. Though our people were highly provoked, and very expeditious, yet they followed them with all the circumspection imaginable; having spies who ran softly before, by whom they found their enemies were entered the town with their booty. Our people, not being provided with strength sufficient, and having no time to call in their neighbours to their assistance, did not attempt to assault deaan Chahary's town, but turned off without being suspected, and went about five miles farther, where they kept their breeding cattle. As it was now late in the night, they took them all without any opposition, the few keepers they had being at a distance, and fast asleep; so that they drove away the beasts without any noise, and made their way homewards as fast as possible. We looked out all the morning, expecting every minute they would return; and, at length, we espied them with a vast drove of cattle, containing as many at least, if not more than our own, being above five hundred. All of us imagined they had recovered their own; and for my own part, I was thinking how I should kiss my cow for joy of seeing her again; but too soon we perceived they were strangers, and as I was not with them, I had no share of the booty.

My master, and several others, after they had divided them, killed some of the oxen; a jovial feast was made immediately, and our people sent me part of the banquet. The day following my master despatched me to look after the cattle as before, whilst he went to repair some breaches in his town walls, by putting in several poles, which were cut down for that purpose, and made

preparations for a war. He had not patience, however, to stay at home and see whether his enemies would come to create him any new disturbance, though he might be very well satisfied with the reprisals he had made on them, since he had taken away more than he had lost. However, in two or three days' time after, he was resolutely bent to surprise the enemy's town by night, though he left his own unguarded, and met with such success as so precipitate a conduct justly deserved; for the very next morning after their expedition, as I and others were watering our cattle, and looking carefully after them, lest they should run to their own home, which was considerably nearer to the watering-place than our town, about twenty men rushed out of a thicket of bushes, and leaped upon us like so many tigers on their prey. However, I and three or four more boys had time to start out of their clutches and fly for it; but they soon overtook the rest, carrying them back, and all the cattle and the other slaves that were with them; while some followed me, hollaing out, and menacing to kill me if I did not stop and surrender myself their captive. Thereupon I turned about, and perceiving I had gained ground of them, I ran directly forwards for a mile and a half at least, before I came to any proper shelter. At length I came to a wood, with which I was well acquainted, where I soon lost them. They returned back to their companions, and went off with their prisoners and cattle. Perceiving them gone I hastened home; when I entered the town the women immediately flocked round about me, for they saw by my countenance and the confusion I was in that some misfortune had attended our party. I soon acquainted them with the loss we had sustained, and they as soon reflected on their husband's ill conduct; who, to gratify the dictates of a blind passion, and to avenge themselves on their enemies, would leave all that was valuable to themselves unguarded to become their prey; for they might be very well assured that they had spies out to give notice of every opportunity which might tend to their advantage.

Deaan Mevarrow returned about evening, when, for his welcome home, the news of this morning's expedition was related to him. I also understood the project they went upon had proved fruitless and ineffectual; for though they arrived at the enemy's town an hour before daylight, yet so cautious and vigilant were they in sending out their spies all ways both night and day, that they discovered our people, and alarmed the townfolks, who came out and met them. And all that was done, as I could hear, was only a tongue-battle, and volleys of opprobrious language. Deaan Mevarrow, indeed, fired at them at a distance, which they returned, but no execution was done on either side. A kinsman coming soon after daylight to deaan Frukey's assistance, deaan Mevarrow thought it most advisable to withdraw; but not without telling them, if his kinsman and his people had not come in to his assistance, he would have had all his cattle again in a few hours. To this they replied, that they would not only keep the cattle they had of his, but that their own, which had been lately carried away by surprise, were by this time in their own hands again, as he would find at his return. And what they asserted, indeed, proved too true: at this he was heartily nettled. We had killed, however, a considerable number of them first, and stocked ourselves with provisions. He vowed to be revenged on his uncles, and accordingly made preparations for another enterprise, which was entered upon in three days after. He asked me if I was willing to make one of the party? I very readily embraced his offer, for there was safety nowhere now; and being at home was as dangerous as being with them. So he furnished me with a gun, cartouch-box, and powder-horn, and thus accoutred, I commenced soldier.

We sallied out of our town as soon as it was dark, for we had a great way to go. Deaan Frukey, with all his people, having abandoned his own town, not thinking it sufficiently fortified, and moved to his brother's, which was many miles farther to the northward, we

marched very briskly, but as silently as possible, never speaking to each other, but in whispers. As my skin appeared white, they imagined it must be discerned at a distance in the dark, and expose us by that means to our enemy's spies; they therefore made me besmear myself all over with mud.

We came near the town about two hours before daylight, and sent two men who were perfectly acquainted with every part of it, in order to search for breaches, or at least some weak places in the fortifications. They succeeded as they could wish, and returned, having discovered not only two breaches, but the private way too, which is always prepared for the women and children, by which to make their escape into the woods in case of a surprise. Near this place we laid an ambuscade of thirty men, who were ordered not to fire, or make the least noise, and to seize the women only in their flight. Our army was divided into three parts: deaan Mevarrow, with his people, attacked the more difficult breach of the two; a chief man of his the other; and deaan Sambo the gate, in whose party I was; for my master would not take me with him, thinking I could not well bear to tread upon the thorns in the fortification.

There were three gates, one within another. The signal for our attack was the firing the first gun, which was not to be till the deaan Mevarrow and the other chief had secured the outside of the breaches, and it was a quarter of an hour before we had accomplished it. The townsmen were by that time all in arms, and almost as well prepared as we, for they secured the inner gate, at the same time we entered the outer one, and came furiously towards us with warmth and resolution; however, we drove them back. They maintained the other, indeed, a long time, till deaan Mevarrow had, with much difficulty, gained a passage through the breach; one of his principal men was shot in the belly just before him, which so provoked him that he leaped down, and the rest followed.

About the same time we pushed vigorously towards,

and entered the town. Immediately we heard the outcry of the women, who were surprised by our ambuscade, and almost all of them taken. The men got off by a breach, which they themselves made into the woods, and left us the town to plunder and reduce to ashes, which was done accordingly. I got for my share a small quantity of cotton, and a few wooden platters, and some spoons. We found here several of our cattle, and among the rest I espied my cow, and did not question then but I should soon have her again: but see the fatal effects of an ill-grounded security! We had now a great booty of slaves and cattle; the latter we drove out of the town before us, without any guard before them, thinking we had gained an entire victory and dispersed all our enemies; when, in fact, the number of them was greatly increased. They kept in a body in the woods, observed our motions, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to show their resentment. They soon perceived that the cattle were left defenceless, and that they had little more to do than to drive them into the woods, where we lost them all almost as soon as we had got them. For on our march, in order to recover them, the enemy appeared in a formidable body, firing at us, and even giving us battle. In this action one of our men was killed. Several of our people were missing before, even whilst we were in the town; and upon strict inquiry, we found three wounded, and four of our principal and bravest men cut off. Deaan Mevarrow and all the rest seemed very much concerned at this unexpected misfortune; and were not near so active or sanguine as they were before, so that now they thought of nothing but making a retreat with the slaves they had taken, and getting out of the reach of the enemy as soon as possible. Accordingly they left the plain open road by which we came, and went through the woods, a most uncomfortable way, for ten miles or more, overrun with thorns and briars, and in perpetual fear of ambuscades. We stopped, however, to make a bier to carry away our men who were wounded, and then marched on with



the utmost circumspection, thinking every bird that stirred an enemy in ambush. Notwithstanding we got through this long wood very safely, we still went by unbeaten ways, so that it was almost dark before we got home. It is a constant custom, be the success of their engagements good or bad, for the chief to sit down with his people before his own door; the women soon flocked round him to hear the news, and though we brought with us a considerable number of slaves, yet there was no room for rejoicing; for the wives, relations, and friends who were killed made a most hideous outcry. However, a few calves were killed, and we refreshed ourselves as well as we could after our long fatigue; every man retired to his own apartment, and being weary, lay down to rest; but before daylight we were alarmed by the firing of a gun. The enemy, by our conduct the day before, perceived we were dispirited, and determined to give us no time to recruit; so they pursued us and attacked our town, as we had before done theirs; but I cannot say their judgment or conduct was equal to ours. For the first thing we did upon the alarm was, to have a party ready to secure the wives, children, and other valuable slaves, in which we succeeded to our wish, and conveyed them safely out of the town to their proper recesses. Though we defended ourselves as long as we could, yet we did not show so much courage and resolution as we should have done at another time; however, we retreated with but a trivial loss, and left them the town to plunder. There was nothing of value for them, since the women had carried off what their haste would admit off; and as for cattle, there was none but a few calves, whose dams they had seized at first; and such was their precipitation, that they could not drive even them away; so they killed them, and carried as much of their carcasses away for provision as they conveniently could. They never once offered to go in search for the women, but called to us, and vowed we should have no rest till they recovered their wives and children. We told them on the other hand, that we would have our cattle



again, and not restore them their wives neither. They seemed pleased with thus showing their resentment ; it was no small satisfaction to our people, though defeated this time, to find that notwithstanding all the disadvantages they then lay under, they were still able to cope with them.

But deaan Crindo, our king, by this time was apprized of all that had happened, who immediately undertook to reconcile all differences between us ; and accordingly sent messengers to both parties to know the grounds of our quarrel, and the demands on both sides. Deaan Mevarrow sent word he was ready to oblige the king, and would live in peace with his uncles in case they would send him all his cattle again ; and as deaan Frukey and Chahary wanted their wives again, they said, they were ready and willing to return what cattle were left alive of ours ; but having killed a third part, they would never be accountable on that score. So that the king could not persuade deaan Frukey to make up the number of our cattle ; nor on the other hand could he prevail on us to send them their wives unless they made restitution. Our master boldly sent the king word, that all the force he had, united with that of his sons, should not oblige him to restore their wives and children on any other terms.

Deaan Crindo resented this insolent answer, and was determined at all adventures to reduce them to a compliance ; and in order thereto, mustered up an army of a thousand men, and was resolutely bent to come to deaan Mevarrow first. Now deaan Crindo could not on these occasions raise any considerable army, because there was a dispute always subsisting between him and his nephew Murnanzack, whose father was deaan Crindo's elder brother ; who dying when his son was an infant, and his country invaded, this uncle took upon him the charge of the government ; and when possessed of it would never resign it. Deaan Murnanzack was not only an intrepid warrior, but a prince as well accomplished as ever appeared in this illiterate

country. He was just, honourable, generous, and of a courteous disposition; he had three brothers, who were lords, judges, and chiefs of towns, who together could raise an army not much inferior to their uncle's; besides, he was universally beloved. Now, in case of a foreign war, all were ready to oppose the common enemy, as we have seen them withstand the kings of Merfaughla and Antenosa; but they were ever jealous and watchful of each other. For which reason deaan Crindo could bring no greater an army against us than was consistent with the safety of his own town, and those belonging to his sons.

Deaan Mevarrow had notice of this design against him, by a particular friend of his in Fennoarevo, who ran from thence to our town by night, and returned before daylight undiscovered. My master had a cousin with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship, and whose father was as powerful a lord as any in deaan Crindo's dominions; to this uncle, whose name was Mephontey, he fled with his people for protection. We soon packed up our little all which we had left. My whole stock of provision and household furniture consisted of no more than about a gallon of carravances, a mat to lie upon, a hatchet, and a little spade to dig up wild yams. We wanted no hoes now, for that work was put an end to in this country. All our plantations, and most of the produce which was laid up in little storehouses, were now left to the enemy's disposal. In half a day we arrived at deaan Mephontey's town, who treated my master with all due respect, and assured him, that he would defend both him and his people to the utmost of his power. The chiefs had houses given them, but we common people were obliged to build huts for ourselves in any part of the town where we could find room. As for my own part, I erected but a small one, not knowing how soon it might be burnt.

Deaan Crindo, in three days' time, encamped before the town. He sent to deaan Mephontey, desiring him to deliver up deaan Mevarrow, and all his people, and bid him detain them at his peril. To this deaan Me-

phontey sent a resolute answer, that he would protect any strangers, who were in his opinion honest people, and fled to him for succour in distress; and much more should he be sanguine for the interest of his friends and relations; and if deaan Crindo would have them, he must take them away by force, for he would defend them to the last extremity.

Deaan Crindo prepared to attack the town the next morning, and we to defend it. In order thereto, the women and children were that night sent away into the woods, not all into one place, but at proper distances, and in small companies. I was ordered with a guard to take care of my mistress, and some other women and slaves who were with her, which I accordingly did. After I had marked the place, in order to find it again with ease, I returned to the town, where we lived as well as we could wish that night, dressing and eating beef in plenty, &c. for we had some cattle of our own, such as I was sent to keep at first, which were at a great distance, when deaan Frukey seized the milch cows; but we wanted water, which was a great misfortune to us, since our enemies were so near that we could fetch none all the day before.

The next morning we were all up by break of day, and every man at his station, according to appointment the day before. I was posted behind my master, who had two guns, one of which I was to load, while he fired with the other. It was broad day before the enemy began the attack; they fired so briskly upon us, that for nearly a quarter of an hour together we could not see them for smoke; but as soon as their fire abated, we returned it as hotly upon them. On the second onset they drew nearer, and the lances flew briskly at one another; one of which went through my lamber, and scratched me. I was a little surprised at first, but soon recovering my spirits, I returned them the lance over the fortification, in the same manner as it came to me. The cattle were very troublesome to us; for several of them being wounded, they ran up and down and put the rest into confusion. We fought thus for

four hours successively, with great warmth on both sides, till deaan Crindo perceiving he could not enter the town, recalled his forces and withdrew to his camp. Deaan Mephontey and dean Mevarrow were for sallying out; but deaan Mephontey's son, Batoengha, with much difficulty persuaded them to desist, suspecting an ambuscade. Several were killed on both sides, and some wounded, whom we conveyed out of the town when the engagement was over to their wives. We buried our dead under the fortification, and sent out spies to observe the motions of the enemy, who brought us intelligence that they were very quiet, and that their whole time was spent in killing cattle, and fetching wood to dress provisions. When this news was confirmed, and we were well assured that they would give us no more trouble for that day, our people killed and dressed beef likewise, but we were parched up with thirst. You might here have seen men with their tongues lolling out of their mouths through excessive heat. This want of water is the most intolerable of all calamities, and a misery too great for words to express. I have before observed, that when I first came into this country, I felt the anguish of it for almost four days; and found by woful experience, that there was no comparison between hunger and thirst. I had relief, however, sooner than my neighbours; for my master sent me and two slaves with provisions for our mistress, and those who accompanied her, where, by the way, we found a little water.

I had some difficulty, notwithstanding all my precaution, to find the place where I left her the night before; however, I got there at last. She seemed in great concern for our welfare, and drowned in tears; for hearing the guns firing, and, at length, ceasing all at once, she imagined the town was taken and her husband killed; but the sight of me dispelled all those melancholy clouds. I cut down several boughs with large leaves upon them, which served very well for dishes and plates; and cutting the roast meat I brought with me into pieces, I served it up to my mistress:

and though she had not, as some may probably remark, so much delicacy as some of our fine ladies of her birth and distinction in Europe, yet she enjoyed as grateful a repast, and I may venture to say was as well satisfied as they would have been in her then circumstances. When she was served, I divided the remainder amongst my fellow-servants, her women, who were her attendants. My orders being to stay with her, I sent the two men away who had brought a very considerable quantity of raw meat; and in the night I made a fire to dress it, which could not be discerned through so thick a wood; whereas, in the daytime, the smoke might have discovered us. I went at some distance and dug up several wild yams; these were very agreeable on account of their moisture, this place being destitute of water; but none of them, how much soever they might long for them, would venture to dig for themselves till I came, lest the noise might betray them to the enemy.

At night we sat very sociably round the fire, whilst I entertained them with the story of the engagement, and the dangers I had escaped. I also roasted the meat, and hung part of it up in one tree and part in another, out of the reach of the wild dogs and foxes, with which this country abounds. When it grew late, I told them I had no bed to lie on, having forgot my mat in the hurry. They laughed at this, and my mistress said, "Sure, Robin, you do not think but we will make room for one man amongst us?" and then bid me make choice of my place. Now I could be free and jocose enough with the young women slaves, though not with herself; yet I laid myself down close by them all night, and I can assure my reader we were very innocent.

I must here confess, I could not but wonder at first, why my master trusted me so readily with his wife, contrary to his care of her in regard to other men, and to the custom of the country; but when I began to reflect how dangerous it was for any woman, who was liable to be called to an account for all her actions, to carry on an amour with a white man, the wonder ceased; for, should a woman prove with child, the

colour of the offspring would betray its mother, if not point out the father. But I must not let this pass with any thing which may be misconstrued to this lady's prejudice; for I solemnly declare, I never once discovered in her the least criminal inclination; notwithstanding what may be said here or elsewhere, of some such freedoms as would appear too condescending, and be censured as too forward in our European women.

We arose by daybreak, and listened very attentively to hear, if we could, the noise of guns, but none were discharged; and in a short time the two men came again to us, and brought us more provisions. They informed us that deaan Crindo had sent a menacing message to deaan Mephontey, to let him know, that unless he obliged deaan Mevarrow to come to him, and submit to his determination of the quarrel between him and deaan Frukey, that he would humble their pride, and remain there with his army till he starved them; and moreover, he would guard the watering place so strongly, that they should not dare to approach it. Deaan Mephontey, on the other hand, returned as resolute an answer; that he was under no apprehensions of starving, having provisions enough of all kinds; a great number of cattle, and other conveniences for them to live on for three months; but besides, he had strength sufficient to force his way out of the town whenever he thought proper; and advised deaan Crindo, for that reason, not to put it to the hazard of a trial, but to move off, and rest contented with the repulse he had already met with.

After the men had told their tale they returned home, and we all went to digging of yams; even my mistress condescended to make one amongst us: so I sharpened sticks for them, and they pulled off their lambers to keep them clean; notwithstanding some of them were such worthless things, that a rag woman in England would scarce have picked them up. My mistress's, indeed, was a fine silk one of various colours, and very large, hanging almost down to her feet, with

a handsome fringe at the bottom. They made more free with me than they would with some others; saying, with a smile, that they did not look upon me as a man, since I discovered no warm or amorous inclinations. My reader, perhaps, will scarcely believe me when I assure him, there were amongst them such beauties, as were not much inferior to our European ladies, except their colour; but my behaviour and resolution were actually such at that time, and long after, that I told them, I resolved never to entertain any thoughts of women, till I returned to England my native country. They replied, they were sure I should be mistaken. However, I lived very idly, indeed, but merrily enough, during the few days I continued here; there being about a dozen women besides my mistress. And for my part, I did not care how long the war lasted, for my provision was given me all the time, and I had no work to do. As to the dangers that attended war, I did not concern myself about them; I had nothing to lose but my life, which, considering the circumstances I was in, and the small hopes I had of ever getting home, was but a burthen to me; but we had not yet seen all the miseries of a civil war. Every morning we used to listen to hear if possible the noise of guns; when, at length, one of the slaves came to us alone without any meat; and having seated himself (as slaves in particular always do before they speak) he told us, that deaan Crindo was gone away, and that my master had sent for us home. This was very agreeable news; so we sat down to breakfast together, sang, and were as jovial as so many beggars. My mistress was in a hurry to be gone; for she was uneasy till she paid her respects to her husband. As soon as ever she saw him she fell upon her knees, and licked his feet; and he returned her compliment, after the manner of the country, by touching her nose.

Now the reason of deaan Crindo's sudden departure was, an information that deaan Murnanzack had seized six hundred of his cattle; he might have taken them



all indeed, if he would, but he did this only to begin the dispute. We stayed, however, a week longer at deaan Mephontey's town, till we were better informed how the matter stood between them; and that there was nothing to fear on that side. Deaan Crindo, it seems, had sent to deaan Murnanzack, to know the reason why he seized those cattle, and whether he was determined to take deaan Mevarrow's part? The answer he received was, that he did it to show him his right of dominion; notwithstanding he doubted not, but that he would dispute his title with him, as unjustly as he had usurped it.

This was a mortifying stroke, and happened at a very unlucky juncture: deaan Murnanzack was always a formidable competitor, and was looked on as such, whenever he thought proper to maintain his right; and he, doubtless, embraced this opportunity on purpose, when deaan Crindo had weakened his interest, by affronting deaan Mevarrow, deaan Sambo, and their friend deaan Mephontey. Crindo was soon convinced of his error, and endeavoured to soften matters, by sending messengers to all of them, to tell them that what he did, was with no other view than to chastise his grandsons; and what was highly requisite to restore that peace and tranquillity, which they and his son Frukey had disturbed; though he began with the former, yet Frukey, had he proved refractory, should have felt the weight of his resentment as well as others: he hoped, therefore, that they would consider his good intention, and not break friendship with him.

Three or four days after this, we departed from deaan Mephontey's; but first returned him many thanks for these generous testimonies of his friendship and hospitality. We went home, (or rather homeward only,) for though we found our way and the place of our late abode, yet not a house was left to put our heads in. Our plantations too were totally demolished, and the very barns and storehouses reduced to ashes; so that we had nothing to live on but what the woods afforded,



and a few cattle among the richest and chiefest men; who were in fact very good, and communicated to their poor neighbours.

The town being so absolutely demolished, as not to be repaired, deaan Mevarrow determined to build a new one; and searching for a commodious place, at length he found a wood so thick, that a dog could not creep into it. This, therefore, was more than half fortified to his hand, and pitched upon accordingly. A vacancy was soon made in it, the men cut down the trees, bushes, and briars, and the women and children conveyed them away; so that in about three days, we cleared a large space to erect our houses on: however, as it was summer time, we were not in so much haste for houses, as for fences against an enemy. We fortified it, therefore, with bodies of trees, which we cut about sixteen or eighteen feet in length; these we drove into the ground so close together, that no creature whatever could possibly get between them. But as one row only of these poles of trees was not thought a sufficient security, we made three or four, one within another, round the whole circumference of the town; leaving no other vacancy than a small and private passage for the conveyance of our women, children, and slaves away with safety, in case of an enemy's approach; and this was so contrived, as not to be discerned with ease or known by strangers. We made but one gateway or entrance, and that not only narrow too, but defended with four prodigiously thick and substantial doors, one within another.

The walls being completed, nothing more remained to do, but each man to erect a house of what extent he thought proper for himself and his family. We, who were slaves to deaan Mevarrow, took care to build his first; some of us cut wood, others fetched grass in order to fill up the sides; whilst I and about thirty more, went a tedious way, at least ten miles, for annevoes, which are the leaves of a tree like those of a cocoa-nut. These we split and covered the house with, for they make a thatch much neater and stronger

than any in England, but these trees were so scarce, and at such a distance, that a single man could not go often enough, in any reasonable time, to collect the leaves; and notwithstanding we went in such a body, we were obliged to go twice for a sufficient quantity to cover my master's house.

When we had finished my master's seat, we went about our lesser apartments, and as at deaan Mephony's a small one served my turn, so it did here in like manner; for, notwithstanding all our strong walls and fortifications, I much questioned whether we should be able to keep them long; neither did we, as it proved soon after: so I made my hut no bigger than just to have room sufficient to stretch myself at full length, and make a fire in, should I, by good fortune, find any victuals to dress.

About a week after we were settled in our new town, a messenger, (or rather, an ambassador,) arrived from deaan Murnanzack, with about twenty in his retinue. His business was to sound deaan Mevarrow's inclinations, and (if they found a favourable opportunity) to desire his friendship and assistance. He soon found there were good grounds to hope for success, and for that reason delivered his message the first night he came. To which deaan Mevarrow returned in answer, he would take it into consideration, consult with his people, and give him his determinate answer the next morning. In the mean time, he gave him a slave's house for his immediate accommodation, as is customary on such occasions; and sent a bullock for the entertainment of him and his attendants. In the next place, he sent out messengers to all the chiefs and freemen to come and consult with him on an affair of the last importance. I was present, and saw this assembly. As soon as deaan Mevarrow and his brother deaan Sambo were seated, the principals placed themselves on either hand, and the other freemen on each side of them.

Dean Mevarrow opened the consultation, by telling them, that deaan Murnanzack had sent a very honour-

able messenger to him to ask his friendship and assistance. We must not forget, says he, that deaan Murnanzack proved of singular service to us in the quarrel we once had with deaan Termerre ; therefore, consider we are much indebted to him upon that score. Consider, moreover, that Chahary and Frukey will ever be irreconcilable enemies, so long as we detain their wives and families ; and you concur with me not to deliver them without a due return of all our cattle, which they obstinately refuse : then, as deaan Crindo is their father, he, doubtless, will be partial, notwithstanding his seeming pretensions to peace, and affected regard for justice ; but in what manner he has lately used us, is too fresh in all your memories to need repetition. The justice of deaan Murnanzack's claim to the dominion, is, I presume, indisputable ; whether deaan Crindo may not justify himself, as affairs now stand, in assuming the authority, is what we shall not, at this juncture, take into consideration ; but it is highly requisite for us to consider, whether deaan Murnanzack has strength enough to maintain the dispute, and protect us, and such other friends as may be inclined to join him. This requires the most mature deliberation : the chance of war is very precarious, and you have families, slaves, and cattle to lose as well as I ; weigh well, therefore, the matter in hand, and let me have your resolution, with which I shall readily concur.

They argued the point for some considerable time, and consulted not only what would be most conducive to their interest, but reflected on the dangerous situation they were in ; and that it was most probable they should be safest in joining with deaan Murnanzack. Thereupon they agreed, that one of them should declare the result of their consultation to the deaan. In the name of the rest, therefore, he desired him, if he approved of their opinion, to contract and enter into a solemn friendship with deaan Murnanzack ; and if so, they would faithfully observe and support him to the utmost of their power.

After I had seen the manner and formality of this

grand assembly, our parliament in Great Britain ran strangely in my head : I imagined this the very in age of it : and though I was but a lad when I went from home, yet as my father kept a public house, to which the best of gentlemen resorted, I remember, I have heard them often disputing with one another about the power of the prince, to oblige the people to do what he pleased without consulting them ; whilst others insisted that a king had no power without a parliament. Then they would dispute about the origin of parliaments and their power, and by whose means the use of them was brought first into England ; in this too they seldom agreed. Some said the Saxons introduced it ; others maintained that it was of a more modern date ; whilst many were of different opinions from both. Now methinks this article might be adjusted without any reference to authors and historians ; that parliaments were established long before the Saxons or Romans either : for I imagine, that not only England, but several other countries besides, were once like Madagascar, without the knowledge of letters and coined money ; and if that be the case, it was then impossible for princes to exert that authority over the people, or to dispose of them contrary to their interest, or inclinations : for I look upon those princes to be like my master, who neither had, nor could have any separate army or interest ; but when any neighbour desired their assistance, or any enemy had injured them, they assembled before the house of their chief ; and there debated what measures were most proper to be taken for the good of their country. If war were agreed on, the same men took their arms, and the sovereign or chief headed them, as my master did here ; and when they returned, each man went home to his own family. Thus the people are their own army and defence ; and the lord could never oblige them to do what the majority did not think convenient to be done, because he had no army to compel them. This was, doubtless, the condition of all other countries once, and must have continued so, had not people subjected themselves

unwarily to the power of one man, by giving him wealth and authority, not only sufficient to raise an army, but to keep it in pay himself, and use it at discretion for their defence; with which he most shamefully insulted and abused them. However, in the state of nature, and the first establishment of societies, this was the form of government; and with due submission to the learned, I am of opinion we need not turn over many volumes to find the original of British parliaments, for they are of much earlier date than all their histories, or than letters themselves—and as to their power, it is grounded on the strongest basis, reason and nature. But to return to our story.

The alliance being unanimously resolved upon, deaan Mevarrow sent for the messenger the next morning; and told him that he and his people, after mature deliberation, were agreed to assist deaan Murnanzack; and desired that their friendship might be ratified, and confirmed with the usual solemnity. Hereupon an ox was immediately brought and killed, the liver roasted, and stuck on lances, and deaan Murnanzack's ambassador, and a deputy of deaan Mevarrow's, eat the liver between them, repeating the imprecation we have mentioned before; that they wished it might prove poison, and a farther curse might be sent by God upon that party who first broke the alliance.

After this solemn ratification, the ox was divided between the ambassador's people and ours, who were present, and both eat it together; after which, he and his attendants departed. And now deaan Mevarrow repented that he had built this new town, for he would have gone and lived near deaan Murnanzack, whose country bordered on Merfaughla on one side, and was within ten or a dozen miles on the other side of Fenno-arevo. He had three brethren; deaan Mussecorow, who lived near him; deaan Afferrer, who lived on the mountains of Yong-gorvo, of whom we shall have occasion to give a large account hereafter; and Rer Mimbolambo, the youngest, who lived but about five miles from us to the eastward; and this last being so

very near us, we were ready at hand to join in any enterprise, or to aid and assist one another. However, we did not think ourselves safe, and, therefore, we took care not to let deaan Crindo know our resolution, till we had made one expedition ; and after that, we made ourselves more secure.

But the course of my narrative naturally leads me to a detail of deaan Murnanzack's attack on deaan Mundumber's town, where he took three hundred cattle, and a great number of women and children ; for it is not customary to take men prisoners, if they cannot get away from their enemies, they are immediately cut off. Among the captives were deaan Mundumber's wife and daughter, the only child he ever had. Having plundered the town, they were going to reduce it to ashes, but deaan Murnanzack prevented them ; and marching into the plain, waited to see if deaan Mundumber would rally, and give him battle. His people appeared, indeed, but at a great distance, not daring to come nearer ; which, as soon as he perceived, he marched homewards, but first did a very generous action, and sent back deaan Mundumber's wife and daughter to him ; telling her, he did not intend it as a compliment to her husband, but as a token of his respect to herself and family : she being niece to the king of Yong-Owl, one of the most powerful princes on the island. Nor did he do it with any view that he should return the like favour, for he had no wife, and was well assured by God's assistance, who would favour his just cause, that it would never be in his power to prove prejudicial to any of his relations.

As soon as deaan Crindo heard that his son's town was taken, he thought it high time to seek revenge ; and accordingly mustered up a great army, threatening to lay the country waste, to destroy all the men, and make slaves of their wives and children. He sent, likewise, to our master to join him, but he peremptorily refused ; saying, he would never join with his professed enemies against his experienced friends. However, he did not declare his intentions of opposing him.

They both sent to deaan Mephontey, but he refused to be concerned on either side, and kept his word ; for his dominions extending to the river Manderra, the boundaries of Antenosa, he was apprehensive that the inhabitants of those parts might take the advantage of his absence, plunder his towns, and lay waste his country.

When deaan Crindo marched from Fennoarevo, he did not wholly abandon his towns, but left a considerable number of men in them, for fear of Rer Mimebolambo and Afferrer. He had no jealousy of us, however ; whilst he was gone Rer Mimebolambo and my master deaan Mevarrow joined forces, and went out to see what they could find ; they soon surprised three towns, for the men made a very weak resistance ; so they brought off about two hundred cattle, and fifty slaves. My master was discovered by having a white man (meaning myself) along with him. This was altogether unexpected to them, and deaan Crindo's wife immediately sent him notice thereof, and that she was in no small concern on that account. To which information he returned for answer, that he would soon despatch the business he was about, and then he would be amply revenged of deaan Mevarrow. But we took care to be provided for him.

In our way homewards, the cattle and slaves were equally divided between deaan Mevarrow and Rer Mimebolambo ; and they then came to this resolution, that it was absolutely necessary for them to live together in one town. Ours was the strongest, but not so big as we could wish ; theirs was of a larger extent, and they had, moreover, abundance of empty houses, which were deserted by those who went away upon the war's breaking out ; so it was agreed we should settle there. We lost no time, for the very day we went home we packed up all our goods, and marched away directly to Merhaundroverta, which was the name of Rer Mimebolambo's town, and abandoned our own in less than a fortnight after we had built it. Thus were we driven about like our wild boars that change their holes every day, and fly from one wood to another, lest



the wild dogs should find them out. And we were not only forced to secure ourselves against the surprises of a body of our enemies, but as we lived so near one another, three or four, or half a dozen of their men would often lie lurking in the woods near towns, and catch a woman, child, or slave of ours, that happened to stroll out on any occasion whatever, as digging of wild yams, &c., so that we had little else to eat but beef; and such as had it of their own gave it to those who had none.

However, I had an employment here which maintained me handsomely enough, and it seemed as if Providence had thought fit to appoint it, on purpose for my support in this seasonable conjuncture. Few of this part of the island will eat any beef unless it is killed by one descended from a race of kings; now my master, just before the war broke out, growing haughty to excess, and having none but himself and his brother to execute these high offices, they were sometimes obliged to go five or six miles to kill an ox. He at last reflected that these people have an exalted opinion of all white men, and taking me for the captain's son, whom they looked upon to be no ways inferior to a king, I was thought of honourable descent enough to be preferred to the dignity of a butcher; though in fact I did nothing more than cut the throat of the beast, and they carved him up themselves: however, for this, I always had my fee, which was a large piece of meat. Though my master and some others, as discerning as myself, plainly perceived that this was a very idle custom; yet he knew that the vulgar are not to be opposed in their old ways, be they ever so ridiculous and absurd; and had deaan Mevarrow obstinately declined this office, and called it a mere caprice of theirs, so abrupt an innovation would, in all probability, have been attended with an almost general desertion, for they would instantly have gone and lived under other lords. He contrived, therefore, to substitute me in his room, and by that means did, (as all wise governors will,) seemingly conform to custom to humour the people; yet by an



ingenious expedient shifted off from himself a mean and troublesome employment.

The next morning the cattle were divided ; my master had ten, his brother six, and the principal men one a piece : some others had one between two, and we slaves one between four of us. For my part I wanted no beef ; for I was often employed, during my residence in this town, to kill the beasts. I was obliged, however, to agree with my partners to kill ours, for they had little enough, though I had plenty. I lived tolerably well here, often exchanging beef for potatoes, &c., with the towns-people ; and here we heard of the havoc deaan Crindo had made in the country. The people who were allied to deaan Murnanzack, and dwelt in small towns, left their habitations and removed with their families and cattle beyond deaan Murnanzack's toward the sea, where they were sheltered under his protection. When deaan Crindo came to such towns as were abandoned, he burnt them down, and utterly destroyed the plantations, pulling up every thing by the roots, as if his intention were to create a famine in the country.

Deaan Murnanzack was all this time with his brother Mussecorow, on his march towards them, and had such good intelligence, that, under the cover of a wood, he came undiscovered almost upon them. They were then ravaging a very large plantation of potatoes, and some others not far distant from it. He divided his army into four parts, resolving to attack them on all sides, whilst they were thus mischievously bent ; and boldly showed his face in front, whom they hurried to oppose ; the other parties fired each from their post, killed several, and put the rest into confusion. However, they made a vigorous resistance, retreating and forcing their way into a wood, where it was almost impossible to follow them. Here deaan Crindo rallied them, and disposed them in good order, each either under his own, or one of his son's command ; for Mumdumber, Chahary, and Frukey, his three sons, were with him. They were much superior in number to the

other ; some said, nearly twice as many ; which deaan Murnanzack was no stranger to, nor to the courage of his uncle ; but he was resolute notwithstanding to engage him : and though he had time sufficient to have retreated, yet he only marched back into the plain, to secure an advantageous ground, and have time to form his army ; which he did accordingly, and waited for his enemy's approach to attack him. It was not long before the engagement began, which was carried on with great vigour and warmth on both sides ; till deaan Murnanzack perceiving his brother Mussecorow's division began to give ground, he was determined to make a bold push himself ; and throwing away his gun, with six small lances in his hand, he challenged several of his principal men to follow him, if they durst, into the thickest of the enemy's body, which they very gallantly did. But he, being foremost, ran like an enraged lion, and in spite of all their fire and flying lances, came to close quarters, hand to hand with his lances ; and those gallant men with him, following his example, drove all that division of their enemy's army back, and put it into utter confusion, who not being able to abide their fury, ran away. They broke into the very part where deaan Crindo himself was posted, who would have been struck through with a lance by one of Murnanzack's companions, had not the deaan himself very generously prevented it, desiring them not to kill his uncle. He left his people to pursue them, whilst he ran to the aid and assistance of Mussecorow, who, at the same time made a vigorous push, being ashamed to be outdone ; however, they would have been utterly ruined, had not deaan Murnanzack himself stept in to their assistance in that critical conjuncture. But they were soon in one general disorder, flying towards the woods with the utmost precipitation, where deaan Murnanzack followed them to prevent them from rallying, and carried on the pursuit till he saw they were quite dispirited, and making homewards to recruit themselves.

Deaan Crindo perceiving he could do no good with Murnanzack, was determined not to be idle, and per-

mit deaan Mevarrow and Rer Mimebolambo to join forces ; so out of policy as well as revenge he resolved to attack us first. But no sooner had he declared his intentions, and made preparations for that purpose, than a friend of Mevarrow came out by night, and acquainted him therewith. On this information he held a consultation with Rer Mimebolambo about their defence ; and in order thereto, considering there were so many cattle in town, as would disturb them in an engagement, he proposed to send part of them to deaan Murnanzack's ; where the other people had secured theirs. Rer Mimebolambo would send none of his ; my master, however, willing to have something to subsist on, in case they should lose what they had here, picked out forty beasts ; some of our richest men also sent six, and others more or less ; in short, there were in all about fourscore and ten beasts separated from the rest, to be sent away. I perceived what was going forward, and would fain have concealed myself ; for I did not know whether I should live so well there as here : besides, it was a large number for one person to take care of. But there was no remedy ; nobody else would send a slave with me, and my master himself would spare no more than one, and he looked upon me as the best qualified of any one man to do it ; whereupon he gave orders to six or seven men well armed to guard, and conduct me, and I took my leave of my friends and acquaintance, and proceeded accordingly.

We were forced to go round about by several tedious, unpractised ways, and to look out as narrowly as possible, lest our enemies should intercept us ; but we embraced a very favourable opportunity when they were all dispirited by their defeat, and suspected nothing of any such prize being near them. So in two days we arrived at deaan Afferrer's town, situate on the hills of Yong-gorva, where we stayed two days to rest our cattle, and were going upon the third in the morning, at which time we heard a shell blow. This alarmed not only the town, but the whole country ; they ran immediately to defend the passage up the hill (for there is

but one) when instantly came two messengers from deaan Murnanzack to deaan Afferrer, to acquaint him that he was at the bottom of the hill, in order to pay him a visit. When my guardians saw them join, and found it was deaan Murnanzack, they went (as soon as the usual compliments were past between the two brothers) to deaan Murnanzack, and informed him, that deaan Mevarrow had sent some cattle and a proper person to look after them, in order to be conveyed somewhere under his protection. He desired them to thank deaan Mevarrow for his friendship and assistance, and assure him that his cattle should have all the care taken of them imaginable, and be put amongst his own. As soon as they had delivered up their charge they took their leaves of me, and returned.

When deaan Murnanzack saw the cattle, and found that I was left with them, he seemed surprised; and asked me if I was cow-keeper, saying, he never heard of a white man being put upon that employment. I made answer, since it was my master's pleasure, I did not think proper to dispute it with him, and would execute my office as well as I could.

Three days after, deaan Murnanzack went homewards, giving orders to three servants to assist me, and we followed in the rear; we had also above a dozen other people with us, who carried provision, bedding, &c. for their masters. As soon as we were down the hill, I discovered a new scene; the soil was of a quite different nature as well as colour; yellow clay with stones; which made my feet very uneasy, having been used to a sandy ground before: however, I was soon inured to it. The trees, likewise, were different; much loftier, and more straight and regular. This was the place I had often wished to see, on account of the wild cattle, of which I had heard so much. I soon found the large tracks they made through the woods, which rendered the driving of mine much easier here, than in other woods.

About noon we lay down to refresh ourselves in a grove. The whole country is very beautiful, and well watered with springs and rivulets. They soon showed

me some wild cattle which were standing under the covert of the trees : I was very desirous of viewing them closer, and taking a gun in my hand, I went toward them ; but when I was got within thirty yards, I was obliged to creep on the ground, and conceal myself as well as I could with the grass, which is very high. Before I came up to them, I saw three bulls running directly towards me ; their eyes sparkled with fire, their ears pricked upright, and they foamed at the mouth ; in all probability they fled from some that gave them chase. They put me into such a terrible fright that I thought of nothing but firing at them, to save myself from being torn to pieces ; but as Providence would have it, I fired and wounded one so deeply, that he fell. Though I was safe with respect to him, I expected the others would have attacked me ; and to avoid their fury, I lay flat on my face, not daring to stir, till hearing no noise, but the halloos of my companions at a distance, I looked up, and found that all of them had run away, except the wounded one, which lay kicking on the ground : however, I durst not go near him, till my friends came up, and put us both out of our pain, by cutting his throat, and applauding me for my courage, and being so expert a marksman. How contrary to one's expectation things often happen ! I imagined they would have laughed at me for my cowardice ; and by mistake, and mere chance, I was looked upon as one of more than common courage as well as conduct.

Whilst they were cutting up the bull, I could not forbear gazing with admiration on those which they called wild cattle, and in fact they are so ; but they are so like those in England, that I could then perceive no manner of difference : nor have I been able since to discover any, except in two trivial particulars ; the horns, I take it, of our English bulls are somewhat snorter, and their bellowings deeper. When we had cut up our beef, we roasted some part of it, and pleased ourselves with the thoughts of our masters having left us behind, because we should not spoil their sport ; we happened, however, on better luck than they, and had

not only beef to eat sooner than they, but got some ready to dress for them at the place of rendezvous at night. This bull-beef, you may be sure, could not be any thing extraordinary, nor any ways equal to the flesh of such as are tame; especially after it had run so far, and so hard, before it was killed. These wild cattle will give the hunters a chase sometimes of several miles together after they are wounded; which makes the flesh but indifferent meat, especially if it be a bull; but people in want are glad of what comes first to hand; for these wild cattle are a great help to such as live in the remote parts, who, in necessitous times, come here a hunting. However, they are frequently found in another vast tract of forest land of some hundred miles extent; of which, and of their supposed original, I shall have an occasion hereafter to give a particular account. The place where we baited at noon, and lay this night, were very agreeable and delightful groves; and indeed, all this country is so, for several days' journey together. It abounds with wild honey, wild boars, and such a variety of pleasant fruits, that men may not only find enough to satisfy their hunger and thirst, but to indulge their luxurious appetites, without the fatigue of any cultivation; and there are many that live in a state of indolence and ease.

Amongst the most wholesome as well as delicious fruits of the earth, and that which I first tasted of here, is their faungidge; it grows (as my companion showed me) in the thickest woods. They search first for the plant, which is a tender creeper, or wild vine that takes hold of a tree or any thing near it, twining round the trunk and shooting into several branches like a vine. I never perceived that it bore any fruit, and was surprised when they told me it was the root of this which produced the faungidge; however, instead of digging at the root, they went at least half a dozen yards from it, and struck the ground with the points of their lances to observe where it sounded hollow; and digging there they found the faungidge. The root spreads a great way under ground, and but few of the branches bear

the faungidge ; so that it would be to little purpose to trace it from the spot, where it appears above ground.

The first I saw was not much less in bulk than one of our gallon runlets ; it is red and very smooth without, and the coat is as thin as parchment ; the inside is white and has a milky juice ; it eats as soft as a water melon, but has no seeds in it ; it is both meat and drink, very wholesome, and always eaten raw.

The verlaway is of the same species, and in all respects much like it ; with this difference only, that the skin of the latter is thinner, but so tough that it must be pared with a knife. There is another kind, called the verlaway-voler, which is reckoned unwholesome : I once saw a man, who had tasted some of it swell immediately, and was ready to die ; but by giving him some melted fat to drink, he brought it up and soon recovered. This verlaway-voler is easily known, for it is much more beautiful to the eye than the other ; and the leaf which springs from it is very different.

The next day I was extremely diverted : for deaan Murnanzack did not leave us as he did the day before. In the morning, we saw a bull alone in the midst of a large plain ; the deaan, by way of amusement, ordered us to stop, whilst he and two more drove my cattle toward the bull ; who no sooner saw them, than he roared and tore up the ground with his horns, as if he expected some enemy to oppose him ; but finding they were cows, he showed an inclination to be better acquainted with them. The deaan and his companions hid themselves under cover of the cows ; they let them graze a little, and then drove them forwards, till the wild bull was amongst them ; as soon as he put his nose to a cow's tail, deaan Murnanzack, concealed under another cow's belly, stuck a lance in his flank ; away he ran with it, but not far before he had another in his side ; and now they had room for the sport they aimed at, which was not unlike (as I have been informed) the diversion of a Spanish bull feast. Several, by this time, joined in the chase ; he ran nearly a mile outright before he stopped, and turned to his pursuers ;



which they always do, when they are closely beset; and then every one must take care of himself: for it is a very dangerous encounter, and so it was here, the beast grew outrageous, and turning upon them, ran directly at the man who first wounded him, whilst another from behind, threw a lance into his flank; then the bull turned again, as he always does, to the person who last wounded him; and the hunters being divided to take him all ways, and keeping at a good distance likewise, as well to prevent hurting one another, as to give him room to play in, they at length killed him; but this sometimes proves a very tragical pastime.

This night we lay in a wood, where we found faungidge in abundance; thus we lived deliciously with only the natural produce of the country. I tied up my calves every night that my cows might not stray, and was forced to rise two or three times, to see that none of my cattle got amongst the wild ones; for when they do, it is no small trouble to catch them again; for whenever they see the others run, they follow likewise, as fast as they can.

The next day at noon we halted at a spring, which rises from the highest hill in this island, called Vohitchmaner, or red-hill; vohitch signifying a hill, or mountain. I drove my cattle into a fine valley, where there was fine grass, but a wild bull came amongst them, and covered one of my cows. I had a great inclination to kill him, though I almost shook for fear; they are terrible creatures to any body's apprehension, who is not used to them, and my fear was the cause of my ill success; for concealing myself under another cow, I took such an awkward aim at him, that I struck one of my own herd instead of him. However, as the wound did not prove mortal, I concealed it; not so much out of any apprehension I had of my master's anger, as out of fear of being laughed at, for wounding a tame cow, instead of a wild bull.

We set up early this afternoon, in a place commodiously situated near some good water; and then we went out to search for wild honey and faungidge. I



had the good fortune to discover a large hole in a hollow tree, that was full of the former; I made a fire presently, and with a brand smoked the bees out. In the next place I cut down a vounturk, to make a vessel like a tub, to put my honey in. This vounturk is a tree or plant, (for I don't well know what to call it,) of a very particular shape and nature. It grows upright as an arrow, about sixteen or eighteen feet in length, is thin below, thick in the middle, and taper again above, like a nine pin. At the top there are two or three branches, that bear leaves of a great length; in the spring they have blossoms, but I never saw any fruit that came to perfection; the outer bark is whitish, like old lead, and full of long thorns, which are easily struck off with a lance. We likewise cut the bark all round, and the tree immediately falls down, not being able to support itself: after this we take away what length we want, and pull out the spongy substance on the inside, till we come within three or four inches of the bottom. By this means we make a vessel light and easy of carriage, and in one of these I secured my honey. The juice of this vounturk is good liquor, and even fit to boil any thing in, when water is scarce. I found also some faungidge. At my return I paid my respects to deaan Murnanzack, and made him a present of some of my honey, which is a compliment our lords always expect.

It was now night, and they were going a beef hunting: when they set out on purpose to kill the best beasts, they always make choice of the darkest nights. They permitted me, on my request, to accompany them; but first ordered me to wash myself, as they themselves did, that we might not smell either of smoke or sweat. I would have taken two lances according to custom, but they obliged me to leave one behind me, lest two together might rattle in my hand. These cattle feed only in the night, and if all these precautions were not taken, they could never be surprised; for they are always on their guard, snorting with their noses, and listening after their pursuers. We can hear them roar,

and bellow a great way off; by which we know where they are, and we are forced always to go round till they are directly to the windward of us; for otherwise they would soon scent us. As soon as we had got the wind and cattle right ahead, and were within hearing, we walked with all the circumspection imaginable, cropping the top of the grass with our hands, as close as possible, to mimic, as well as we could, the noise a cow makes when she bites it. The moment they heard us they were all hush; not one of them bellowed or grazed, but seemed to listen with the utmost attention: which when we perceived, we all stood still likewise without a whisper, whilst three or four, who understood the nature of it best, continued cropping the grass. When the cattle had listened, till (as we imagined) they took us for some of their own species, they returned to their grazing, and we walked with caution nearer, still mimicking them as we moved softly along. Deaan Murnanzack ordered me to keep behind, lest they should discern my white skin, and be startled; he also gave me his lamber to cover myself with, which was a large piece of black silk, so that if I had been near them, they could have seen nothing but my face, the grass being above knee deep.

At length we got amongst them, so that one of our men (as he told me) with some grass in his hand, and under the cover of a bush, took hold of the dug of a cow, and finding she gave no milk, he concluded she was not lean; for which reason he stuck his lance instantly into her belly, and drew it out again, making no other motion. The cow thus wounded will give a spring perhaps, and make a noise, as if another had run her horns against her; but this is so common amongst them, that the herd is not any ways disturbed by it: so that our people stuck three or four after this manner, and left them, with an intention to come the next morning, and track them by their blood; for it is very dangerous to come near them in the night. As soon as they find themselves sorely wounded, they run from their companions, and will attack the first man

they see. They are generally found actually dead, or fallen down in some wood, or shelter of bushes, as if they industriously endeavoured to conceal themselves. No sooner had we determined to depart, and I had returned deaan Murnanzack his lambe, than a calf, that had been mortally wounded, began to make a hideous uproar, and running about, made the herd jealous; so that they ran away, and the calf made directly at me, and knocked me backwards; I caught hold of his leg, but cried out lustily for help. This accident afforded much mirth, and fixed a joke upon me afterwards; as a stout fellow to cry out for assistance to cope with a calf. However, they took him, cut him to pieces, and carried him away; of whom we made a very good supper. I have been informed, that notwithstanding these cattle are so wild, the cows will sometimes stand still to have their dugs handled, and several of them have been milked in the dark into a horn; however, as I never attempted this myself, I cannot absolutely vouch it for truth; yet as I have heard so many affirm it, I think there are no just grounds to contradict it.

We were in no hurry to get home, for not only our cattle, but we too, lived as well as we could desire there; so that though we kept going forwards, yet we made several days more of our journey than we should have done. A day or two after this beef hunting, we had an accidental diversion of another kind: our dogs had got the scent of some wild hogs that were got into a thicket, and were very busy in running round it; but could find no entrance for a considerable time. At length, however, they found the path which the swine had made, and attempted to enter the wood by it: the passage was defended by a large boar, who fought the dogs with great fury, and wounded one of them in a very dangerous manner. Now, what with the dogs on the one hand, and the swine on the other, there was such a yelping, grunting, and howling, that the woods rang with their noise; and one would have imagined,

all the hogs in the island had met there by consent, in order to revenge their quarrel upon us.

We laid down our burdens, and some of us went up to them, armed with guns and lances. Deaan Murnanzack shot the boar that wounded his dog; whereupon another in an instant defended the entrance, and fought so resolutely, that neither the dogs, nor we ourselves, could come near the cattle that were within; till we had made a passage behind them with our hatchets and lances, and then fired upon some of the most resolute, who turned upon us. The rest perceiving themselves attacked behind, fought their way through the dogs, and ran away, with the dogs after them. Words cannot describe the noise there was, especially after a number of them were wounded. We found seven dead, besides several others so wounded that they could not make off. We picked out only one or two of the fattest, for there are very few that will eat them. I did not dare to take any, on account of my office of killing beeves, and the eating of swine's flesh is accounted so contemptible a thing, that I should have lessened my dignity, and perhaps been degraded; which, whatever mean thoughts I might possibly have, as to the honour of it, I had too good an opinion of its value to part with it for the gratification of my appetite in one meal: for in this case they are curious to a punctilio, that if the daughter of a king be married to any one that is not of a royal family, their children are not admitted to the honour of killing beeves, notwithstanding the father be a freeman, and a chief amongst his neighbours.

We used every evening to sit down near the prince, and discourse of one thing or another to divert the time; now, though it is a common custom amongst the princes here, to converse with every body in the most familiar manner, yet they preserve a decent state and distinction. The people throughout the whole island pay a religious regard to dreams, and imagine that their good demons (for I cannot tell what other name

to give their inferior deities, which, as they say, attend on their owleys) tell them in their dreams what ought to be done, or warn them of what ought to be avoided; more especially after a sacrifice, or a prayer to God, and an invocation of this demon. I well remember our discourse this evening turned principally upon this topic. The next morning deaan Murnanzack came to me as I was alone, and discoursed very freely with me about several things; and in particular he advised me to take what beef I wanted, and could carry with me; for we should have no more opportunities of killing any wild cattle. Observing him fond of conversation, I told him, if there were any dependance on dreams, as some had asserted the night before, I should incur his anger that day; having dreamt that I was at home with my parents, and all my relations round about me; that my pockets were full of gold, and they added still to my store. This, I said, did not only throw me into a melancholy when I awaked, to find myself naked in a wood and in a strange country, but it likewise gave me some concern, for that I had always observed, not only when I was a lad in England, but since under my master Mevarrow, that to dream of plenty of gold money was a certain indication of anger. At this deaan Murnanzack smiled, and made answer, "I wonder that you, who laughed but last night at the talk of God's sending dreams by the good demons, should to-day be afraid of one." "However," says he, "I dare say you will be once mistaken; for I don't know any thing you can do to make me angry." I would not have my reader imagine, that I have introduced this story, merely for the sake of telling an idle dream; but it proved the introduction to something very remarkable, and furnished us with a discourse the next evening, that may possibly be thought an agreeable amusement.

The next day we roasted our beef and laid it to cool, in order to bind up in a burden, which we called an enter, to carry at our backs. All I had to do, was to provide for myself, and what with my beef and honey I was pretty well loaded, and as well contented, for I

lived in plenty; my honey, likewise, mingled with water, made a pleasant drink. This was the last day of our passage through these groves and habitations of the wild cattle; some of which they attempted once more to surround, more for the sake of their diversion than want of beef: and in this, not wilfully, but for want of knowledge, I spoiled all their sport, by traversing the way they were running, which was directly towards the place where deaan Murnanzack lay in ambush for them. This made them run quite another way, and put him into such a violent passion at first, that he lifted up his lance, and frowning, threatened to kill me, and, indeed, I expected no less, which made me get out of his sight as soon as possible, being apprehensive of some such barbarous treatment as I had before met with from deaan Mevarrow. This prince, however, was of a more generous disposition; for when his passion was over, he sent for me in a very courteous manner, and desired I would spend the evening with him as usual, and sit down by him, which, accordingly, I did. After we had discoursed on a variety of subjects, he, at last, pressed me to give him some account of the customs of my country, and in a more particular manner to inform him, what god or gods we worship, since I seemed to have so little veneration for theirs; and that I would be ingenuous, and tell him, as I had been a great traveller, what things I had seen, in order to improve the evening to the best advantage. “And pray, says he, “what God is that you adore?” Upon this the company drew round me, and I began by asking them in the first place, if they were not satisfied that there was a God above the skies? I could not say above the heavens, because there was no term in their language expressive of them; nor had they, as I could perceive, any idea of what we christians mean by heaven, as the peculiar residence of the Almighty, and the glorious mansions of the saints after their decease. They told me that they firmly believed there was a God above, who was the supreme Lord of all other gods, demons, or spirits, of what nature or kind soever. “That very

God," said I, "is the deity we adore, for we know of no other God, nor do we pay the tribute of divine worship to any other object than this one—this supreme and only God." "Do not you then," said they, "make prayers and sacrifices, and invoke some guardian demons to assist you in the knowledge of the will of that God; and to warn you of any approaching dangers? If your countrymen had such owleys as ours, your good demons would have assisted you that night you lay upon the sands, and have told you in dreams of the danger, and directed you to escape before the morning."

To this I replied, "that all good men in England acknowledged an overruling Providence; and I am fully persuaded, that it was by the providence of that divine power that I was preserved at that time; and why God did not see fit that the rest should save their lives, is a secret I do not pretend to pry into; but I cannot conceive that your owleys, to which you seem to pay a divine homage, and pray to for their aid and assistance, should have a spirit or a god within them; or visit you in the night when you are asleep, and forewarn you of such misfortunes as you would willingly avoid. I plainly perceive, that they are nothing more than pieces of wood, and alligators' teeth dressed up; I plainly discern, likewise, how they are made; and I am certain that other wood, and other alligators' teeth are not living spirits, have no power of speech, and are incapable of knowing things present, much less things to come; for which reason, we look upon it as an act of idolatry to pay that adoration, which belongs to the great God alone, to any created thing, or the likeness of any created thing above, or here below, since he has strictly forbid the worship of any thing but himself."

Deaan Murnanzack listened to this serious discourse of mine with abundance of attention, and then turned to some of his people and argued with them for some time; partly in vindication of what I had asserted, and partly in endeavouring to explain to them the nature of their owleys, which I am sensible I had not a just notion of at that time. But I was too young when first



I was reduced to this slavery, and had neither friends nor books to assist me; besides, I was not capable of making such just remarks then, as I could do now.

But, to proceed; as soon as the deaan had done discoursing with them, he turned again to me and said, "To me it seems very strange, that you, who, but this very morning, told me a dream of your own, and found it happened true, should argue against these owleys of ours; for you mistake us; it is not the wood, nor the alligators' teeth that we worship; but there are certain guardian demons, who take care of all nations, families, and private persons; and should you be possessed of one of these owleys, and give it the name of some guardian spirit, it will undoubtedly attend you; for how could you know this morning that I should be angry with you, had not one of these good demons visited you and discovered it; and if you had not had such friendly notice, you might, probably, have been killed, though I did not design it; but men's passions are unruly, and I was highly provoked, I own, though I say not this to reproach you, as if I imagined you wilfully spoiled our sport, for I am fully satisfied you meant no harm. I only mention this to put you in mind that you argue against yourself; besides, if the spirits of our forefathers, or these guardian demons did not declare these to mankind, how should they know them? No one could tell that I should be angry with you, when you had given me no offence; neither did you intend to provoke me, and nothing was done that any such accident should have happened. You do not imagine, I hope, that the great God himself came down to tell you, since these inferior spirits, of whom there are such numbers, could more conveniently attend you. But you observed just now, as I remember, that the great supreme God had forbid you the worship of any thing but himself. Pray did any white man ever see this great God above? or does he often condescend to talk with your people, and not with ours?"

To which I made answer, that no man ever saw God, but some of our forefathers, many ages ago, heard his



voice when he descended in a cloud. "But," says he, "if this was so many years ago, and there is no man now living, black or white, that ever heard the voice of this God, how are you sure it is true? And since, as you allow it was many ages ago, things may be so altered or misrepresented from what they were when your first forefathers told them, that you cannot rely upon their certainty." I was here at some loss, as they had no knowledge of letters, and consequently, I could not make them comprehend any thing of the sacred scriptures; I only told them, therefore, that we had a way of preserving the memory of things, which they were wholly unacquainted with; and by that means, I said, we had an account of the beginning of the world, and of its creation by God, and that I could tell them a great many strange things in relation thereto, which they then seemed very desirous of hearing.

And, accordingly, I told them that the world was originally dark, and a confused chaos or mass; and that God, by the word of his power, made the sun and moon, the beasts, fish, fowl, trees, herbs, and every thing else. They still persisted in their first objection, and as they imagined with much more reason than before; "for," said one of them, "though it is possible you may have a better method of preserving the memory of things than we have, yet you could never have the knowledge of what was done before there was any man created." To this I replied, that God hath revealed the knowledge of this, and much more to particular persons; which, they listening attentively to, I went on to the creation of man, and then of woman's being made out of a rib, which God took from him while he was asleep. At this they all broke out into astonishment and laughter; and deaan Murnanzack said it was a manifest untruth, and that, therefore, it was a shame to tell such a story with a serious countenance; by this, he said, he was convinced that all the rest was false; for, were this true, a woman would have a rib more than a man, and a man be defective on one side.

Here I was guilty of a gross error through ignorance, however, I think myself obliged ingenuously to confess it. I hope our divines and all good christians will consider the circumstances I was in, and readily forgive me; for I had so little wit, as peremptorily to insist on the truth of it, and affirmed what I had heard, when a child, from illiterate persons, that a man had one rib less on one side than the other; nay, I had so much assurance as to put the whole argument upon this issue, and offered to lay any wager on the fact. The prince laughed at me, though he was willing to be convinced; we had two women with us, one was very lean, whom he ordered to be called, her ribs were told and found to be equal; and after that, a man was examined, and his ribs were the same. They were not all of them, indeed, convinced of the exact number, nor could I myself, in attempting to count them after them. From this time, I perceived deaan Murnanzack treated all I had said on religion with contempt, and immediately resumed his former objection with more vigour, and said, that to talk of what was done before man was created, was perfect nonsense; that what I had asserted in relation to God's conversing with men, and telling them such and such things, had no manner of evidence; and that the things I pretended to know and talk of, were, in short, nothing more than old women's tales. "However," says he, "pray go on, and give us some farther account of this God of yours, who, in former ages, was thus familiar with mankind." Then I went on with the scripture story of God's displeasure with the whole world, and the flood which destroyed all men and beasts on the earth, except those in the ark; and of Noah's taking male and female of every species into it to preserve them. Upon this, one of them shortly replied, "if they had been all destroyed, could not that God who made them at first, make more of them at his pleasure?" But I went on and told them of the rainbow, that it was appointed for a sign of God's promise not to drown the world again. To this deaan Murnanzack replied, that they had no such tradition handed down to them; "but

besides," says he, "if none but Noah, with his sons and daughters, were saved, pray was Noah a white or a black man?" To which I answered, "Sir, I perceive you give no credit to what I say of this nature." He said, "There are many things which I do not rightly understand, and shall be glad to be informed of; nay, I would give credit to any thing that a reasonable man can desire, but most of these things are no better than old women's fictions, and I am fully persuaded that all white men will not talk thus idly as you do." These were his very words, which he repeated several times, and with which this evening's conference concluded. It was no small concern to me to find how the truth suffered by my weakness; but I was in hopes that deaan Murnanzack, who was a man of penetration, might consider that I was but a child when I left England, and for that reason, not well acquainted with the topics I undertook to explain.

The next day we went directly forwards, for we were then past all the wild cattle, and deaan Murnanzack therefore hastened homewards. About three in the afternoon, we came to a place where the road divided; here the prince halted, as I perceived, with no other view then to take his leave of me, ordering two men to conduct me and my cattle to his cow-keeper. Here we parted, and we lay that night near the banks of a river, which are the boundaries of deaan Murnanzack's country, and leads into Madamvovo, the great river which runs through Anterndroea. To this place where I was going, all the cattle come to water. As we were passing through the woods, we met a company of men and women going to fetch water; they stopped and gazed at me with admiration, having never seen a white man before, asking those who accompanied me, who I was? and from whence I came? who waggishly told them they found me in the forest among the wild cattle, and intended to make a present of me to the prince. In order to carry on the jest, I ran towards the women, and talking gibberish, frightened one of them to that degree that she fell into such violent fits, that the rest

had much to do to recover her, for which I was afterwards extremely sorry.

This wood extended from the river about seven miles, without any break or plain, till within a mile of the town. It was no small concern to me to think what a great way I had to drive my cattle to water every other day, but it did not prove so great a fatigue as I expected; for there being eight or ten of us, we took our turns, so that it came to each man's turn but once in about sixteen or twenty days; besides, as there was no grass by the way, there was no impediment or interruption; and when they returned hungry, they would go home fast enough of themselves.

As the people here had never seen a white man before, I was a very surprising sight to them at first; but they were soon acquainted with me, and I became of singular service to them: for whenever they had an ox to kill they were obliged, till now, to go a great way for one of the royal family; this trouble I saved them, and lived very plentifully myself by that means. I was frequently sent for upon these occasions, and had always my fee, which was four or five ribs to carry home with me, besides the leg roasted for my entertainment whilst I was with them. I seldom went without a boy to wait on me, as there were always several at hand, and willing enough, because I was able to oblige them with part of my beef. I had also sufficient to live like those who are free and generous, in communicating some portion of whatever they have to their neighbours. As soon as I came home, I used to put on the pot, and send messes out to all my acquaintance, which they did not fail to return when in their power: and it may be observed in the whole course of this history, that all the people of this island delight in this free, good-natured, and sociable way of living.

Whenever I was sent for, the house was always set in order, the owley dressed, and placed in view. I was frequently employed to kill a sacrifice, in case of a circumcision, or when any one was sick; and since I had the conference above related with deaan Murnan-

zack, I had the curiosity to listen to their prayers ; and more than once I attempted to speak in favour of the christian religion. When I mentioned the resurrection of the body, they told me it must be a mere romance ; and to talk as I did of burning in fire after death, was to them inconceivable ; for (said they) no man can feel after he is dead, and unless they could see some person raised from the grave, they would give no credit to my assertion. I told them farther of God's appearing, and giving the ten commandments, but it had no influence over them ; " for " (said they) " all mankind have the purport and meaning of them by the dictates of nature."

Here are laws against adultery, theft, and murder ; and they have such a veneration for their parents, that they revere them even after death ; there is also a fine inflicted on any one who shall presume to curse another man's parents. They never swear profanely, but allow oaths sometimes requisite, because, as they said, they were necessary and convenient ; and men could not live one by another if there were not such laws ; and for that reason there was no occasion for the great God himself to prescribe those rules. The fourth commandment, indeed, they seem to have no idea of ; unless it be that they allow even their slaves to spend one day in seven, as they think proper, without controul ; but they have no religious duties to perform. And when informed that we kept it holy, because God rested on the seventh day, they said this was as improbable as any thing I had before asserted ; and asked, how I could tell what God did before there was a man living ? And indeed, I could plainly perceive that they despised me for talking of these things, and looked on me as a common notorious liar, insomuch that I was obliged to desist.

In short, I had no way to prove what I asserted : and that mistake in regard to the rib, in my conversation with deaan Murnanzack, was a mortifying stroke to me ; and though at first I imagined my ill success in the argument was wholly to be imputed to my own

ignorance, I have since had a thousand scrupulous thoughts arise in my mind upon that head. And sure I am, that all was not owing to my weakness, for our divines have not furnished us with sufficient arguments to defend it. And I do not know, since miracles are ceased, but they would find it a difficult task to demonstrate those truths themselves to these people's satisfaction. Nor do I know what miracle could possibly now be wrought to prove what was done before any mortal man was in being. Though they are fools enough here to be imposed on by the umossees, or conjurors, yet they will entertain no notion of conversing with the great God. They allow, indeed, that there are demons or spirits, which may be good or bad, who appear to them in dreams, and discover to these umossees many surprising things; yet they do not look upon them to be more pious or better men than others, though, indeed, they imagine they are more knowing. The awe, however, that my education has impressed on my mind prevented me from joining in their worship, lest it should be idolatrous; and there never was such a thing as persecution for religion ever thought of amongst them; so that I was free to think and do as I thought proper, so long as I took care not to affront them: and I think it is both a shame and a sin that it should be countenanced or practised by any sect of christians whatsoever. I have not here forgot deaan Mevarrow's threatening to kill me at first; but it must be observed there was nothing more in that transaction than a secret pride and ill-nature peculiar to the man; as appeared by deaan Sambo's preventing him, and reconciling us, without laying me under any obligation to join in the ceremony.

I had not lived here above six weeks, before I heard that deaan Crindo had attacked Rer Mimebolambo's town, and reduced it to ashes, killing two men, and taking some of their wives and children captive, with almost their whole stock of cattle. This ill news affected me very much, notwithstanding deaan Mevarrow had several times in his passion attempted to kill me, yet

living so long in his family I could not but be concerned at their misfortunes. We used to have here a great deal of flying news with respect to their wars; one day an account of a battle fought, and the next day a contradiction of it; their reports being as little to be relied on as some of our common newspapers at London, so that I paid but little regard to them. Besides, we lived here at a distance in peace and plenty, and heard now and then, perhaps, of the losses sustained by our friends: however, as we felt none of the miseries ourselves, they served us for conversation; in which we, like coffee-house politicians, sleep in security remote from danger, censured the conduct of our superiors according to our several factious inclinations, for facts we knew little or nothing of, or at most, but by external appearances, and those too from very precarious reports. Our business was to make our lives as easy and happy as our circumstances would permit us; and among the many things which we met with to divert us, one, I think, will bear the relation; which was a project of my governor's, and proved as profitable as it was entertaining.

There are some people in the remote parts of this country, whose habitations are in secret recesses in the woods; they live easy, indolent lives, never come near a town, nor concern themselves with any affairs of peace or war, either foreign or domestic. They keep no cattle, lest the vociferations of their herds or flocks might possibly betray them, and induce some evil-minded men to disturb their peace by plundering them of so valuable a treasure; but content themselves with small plantations and the product of nature, which is, indeed, sufficient to support them. They never concern themselves who is the lord of any particular place, or sovereign of the whole dominions. Deaan Murnanzack's cow-keeper, my governor, formerly lived after this manner, and by that means was acquainted with some of their private settlements. As they are very illiterate, he imagined that I, being a man of a singular colour, might easily be imposed on them for a prince



of Murnanzack's family; as, indeed, many of our vulgar people in Europe are, who think the royal family are something more than mortal, and the nobility superior in beauty to the rest of the human species. In short, the farce was agreed to be played, and I was to have one third of what presents should be made us; he another, and the persons who composed my retinue the remainder. Accordingly they procured me a gay silk lambo, two or three strings of the most glittering beads for a necklace, and a gun of the best sort to carry on my shoulder; my assumed character was Rer Mimebolambo, who living in the most remote parts and far from them, there was little or no danger of a discovery, since none of them had ever seen any of the family in their lives. Twenty of our neighbours made up my retinue, and we practised or rehearsed our parts three or four days before we went, they waiting on me, and calling me by that name and title, that every one might be perfect, and know his cue. The plot in short was this:—

We set out in a very formal and pompous march, with shells blowing in the rear, as is the custom of the country. The place we proposed to visit was about ten or twelve miles off; when we came within half a mile, my governor, and one appointed to attend him, went as heralds to acquaint them that deaan Murnanzack's youngest brother, Rer Mimebolambo, was travelling that way, and understanding there were some inhabitants in those parts, desired they would spare him such provisions as they thought proper for himself and his retinue. We halted till we thought our envoys had delivered their message and prepared them for our reception, then we marched on in form and order. As soon as we came into their little village I perceived a mat was spread for me to sit down upon, and the whole clan, men, women, and children, came crawling upon their hands and knees to lick my feet. My people played their parts artfully enough, observing every punctilio of respect that was due to the person I represented; for the moment I was seated, one ran to fetch



me water, another brought a calabash to receive it, and a third very obsequiously washed my feet. I ordered my principal attendant (who was in reality my governor) to procure a house for me; there were but five in the whole place, except a few huts or separate apartments for their children. He soon pitched upon one of the best, and left the owner to shift for himself.

They stood with awe and attention before me, having never seen any one command with such authority before. The chief called a kind of council, and consulted with them what present was most proper to make me, in some measure suitable to my dignity. Several of them returned in a short time with some gallons of Guinea corn, and more of carravances; but the old man did not make his appearance till near the evening, when he brought with him four men loaded, two with as much honey as they could well carry, and two with as much carravances; all which were placed in a very formal manner before me. The old man sat down at a humble distance, and struck with awe, in a hesitating tone, made a modest apology, and said, he hoped I would excuse the meanness of his present; but as he had no more to command on so short notice, he should be proud if it met with my acceptance. I showed a tender concern for the poor man, and cheered him up, telling him I was well pleased; that what he had done was a sufficient testimony of his respect, and more than I expected from him. Upon this, I desired him to sit down and keep me company, whilst my people went to visit some of their neighbours; for I had sent some of them one way and some another, to collect all they could by fair means, and whatever the people could spare. I particularly ordered they should attend me themselves, and taste the provisions they furnished us with, lest they should be damaged by the incantation of the umossees. The old man recovered his spirits in a short time, and began to talk with me in a more familiar manner, saying, it was no wonder that my father and his royal family ruled over them, for God and the demons had peculiarly distinguished

us from other men ; and, “ had I met you,” said he, “ in a wood alone, I should instantly have fallen down, and paid my duty to you ; for the varzachars, or white men, can never surely be whiter than this young prince is.” Thus his tongue ran on, expatiating on each feature of my face, and extolling every part about me in so lavish a manner, that I could scarce tell what to say to him ; nor did I know when he would have ceased, but as good fortune would have it, an arch fellow in my retinue came in, and in a drolling, though very serious manner, answered him, saying, it is no wonder, old father, that you stand astonished at the different colour, the regular features, the graceful symmetry, and proportion of the prince ; but you must consider, venerable sir, that God has not created all mankind alike, but is pleased to distinguish those whom he constitutes for the government of mankind, by making them in such a particular form, and of such a particular colour, that no one can be ignorant of their superiority. For (says he farther) were all of one shape and colour, people would choose out of their own clan whom they thought most wise and valiant to be their sovereign lord and chief commander ; and should they happen not to approve of his conduct, they would abandon him, perhaps, and live under subjection to some other prince ; but when God appoints any particular men to be princes and rulers over the rest of mankind, you may depend upon it, he bestows upon them such excellent forms, and distinguishes them by such marks that every one who sees them must know them at first view, must immediately fall down before them, and acknowledge their divine right and authority over them. “ Ay, ay,” says the old man, “ what you observe is very true ; for I remember my father went once in two or three years to carry honey to deaan Mernindgarevo, who was deaan Crindo’s father ; and, as I have been informed, his skin was of copper colour, though his hair was black, indeed, like ours.” “ Yes,” says the other, “ he was somewhat different, but not very much ; deaan Mungazeungarevo, however, who was this prince’s father, married a lady

from Port-Dauphine, who was a white man's daughter." "Yes, yes," says the old man, "no doubt there is something in that, but I have not a right notion of those marks which you mention by which God distinguishes princes. Are all princes, pray, of his fine colour and make? And has God set such glorious marks on all kings?" "I cannot say," says the other, "but that this is the whitest that was ever heard of." In the interim came some of the people who were sent for, bringing their presents and offering to lick my feet, which, to my no small satisfaction, put a stop to their insipid conferences.

I found that my people had formed this artful scheme among themselves to delude these poor peasants, and carried it on with good success; for one of these last, as I was informed, asked how he should know the person to whom he was to pay his respects? And was roundly answered, do you think God has not distinguished princes from other men? You will know him at first sight by his fine colour and majestic mien.

But I fear I have tired my reader with the too tedious narration of this petty farce. However, it plainly appears, that it turned out to all our advantages; we proposed at first to have proceeded further into the country, but were so well provided with whatever we wanted, that we had no occasion for more, every man having as much as he could well carry. So the next day all made up their enters, except myself, who still kept up my grandeur. When we came home, we divided the spoil according to contract, and though I sent several presents to my neighbours, I had sufficient for two or three months.

This was too happy a life to last long. Before a year came about, I was ordered home again with my cattle, three men being sent by deaan Mevarrow to conduct me. The civil war had now subsisted about a year and a half, which reduced every one to the greatest difficulties, so that they wanted these cattle to live upon, the rest being consumed by themselves, or taken by their adversaries; the enemy, however, was in as

bad circumstances, if not worse. We returned the same way we came, through the forest of wild cattle, and hunted as we went along till we came to deaan Afferrer's town on Yong-gorvo. I was much dejected all the way, and here I began first to think of making my escape to some seaport town at the peril of my life; though it was a long time before I had opportunity to accomplish it. As soon as I arrived at Rer Mimebolambo's town, where my master and his people still resided, I found none but melancholy countenances; however, they were glad to see me safely arrived, being richer by that means than the rest of their neighbours, whether friends or enemies; for my cattle were considerably increased. They thanked me, indeed, for my care, which was all the reward I had; but my master was too proud and surly to do that; my butchering office, however, brought me the usual fee, by which means I lived as well as any of the others.

My employment was still to follow the cow-tail for the town in general, for nobody was willing to trust either their children or servants; and deaan Mevarrow durst not peremptorily command, even his own young slaves, to do any thing which might hazard their being taken by the enemy, lest their parents and friends should resent it, and leave him to live under other lords. As for his white slave, he had neither parents nor relations to mourn his loss if killed or taken; and for that reason was the only proper person to be exposed to danger.

The war was not carried on with so much vigour as at first, for their courage on all sides was pretty well abated; nor was there so much advantage arising from the plunder of one another, as at the beginning; but it was not long before Chahary and Frukey, who were our original enemies, heard that we had cattle; and one day, as I was tending them at some considerable distance from the town, they, with two hundred men in a body, surprised and took them, and pursued me in a most violent manner; firing and darting their lances, yelling out, kill him, cut him to pieces, &c.: however, I

got the start of them, and fled into a thicket, which was so full of prickles and strong large thorns, that I was most miserably scarified from head to foot; nevertheless I concealed myself in the midst of it. They still followed me with their hideous cries, beginning to cut down a passage in order to come at me; but just as I was on the very brink of despair, I observed them all on a sudden run as fast back again. It was some time before I could comprehend the meaning of it: till at length, I perceived some people had been alarmed, and came upon them; so that now they found it difficult to save their own lives. They could not drive off the cattle, but resolving to do as much mischief as they could, they killed some, and others they wounded, and then fled. I was obliged to keep my station, and was still apprehensive, that some of them would be driven upon me; till by the noise of the guns, I found, that they went farther from me; I then ventured to creep out, and perceived one of their chief men was fallen, and wounded with two lances in his hand. He looked me full in the face with his eyes swimming, and was going to speak, when I snatched one of the lances out of his hand, and told him, it was my time now; and as he was my enemy in a double capacity, I immediately struck him dead. When our people first saw me they imagined that I was cut with lances, for I was all over bloody. My flesh was torn in several places, my feet were almost cut to pieces, and many large thorns were still visible in them. So that when I recovered from the fright I was in, and came to be cool, I was in excessive torment. The women and children soon helped to carry the slain cattle into the town, there not being above fifteen alive, and those most barbarously used. Whilst these were busy with the beasts, I told deaan Mevarrow that I had taken two lances from one that seemed to be mortally wounded; though alive when I left him at the side of the thicket. I durst not own that I had laid violent hands on him, for some of our people were his near relations, and I did not know but they might privately seek revenge, for they lamented

his loss, and begged his body, in order to bury it; which was readily granted.

When I came home, my mistress was very kind to me, and ordered one of her slaves to wash and dress my wounds, and pick out the thorns. It was some time before I was perfectly well, and it was no small comfort to me, that I had no more cattle to take care of: though I was conscious, at the same time, of the ill consequence that would soon attend the want of them. However, we had beef enough for some few days; and more than we could well dispense with, whilst it was sweet.

I was no sooner recovered, than my master found out another employment for me, which was to dig in the woods for wild yams; all our beef was now spent, and scarcely any thing else was to be found hereabouts to live upon: we now severely felt the miseries of a civil war; and so must all countries wherever they are, feel in proportion to their circumstances, whether christian or heathen. I went a long way sometimes before I could find sufficient for my master and mistress, and myself, being seldom able to bring home more than would serve one of us for a meal the next day: I, indeed, always made sure of one private meal; for I took care to kindle a fire, and roast some of them in the woods.

One morning just about sun-rising, as my master and some of the chiefs were sitting at the town-gate, condoling with each other on account of the sad state of their affairs, deaan Mevarrow said, he had tasted no beef for some considerable time; and asked, if there were any cattle near them? They told him, none that either belonged to him, or any of Rer Mimebolambo's people; but there was one in deaan Mephontey's jurisdiction, about four or five miles off, who had several good fat beeves. He immediately ordered me and another man to bring away one of the best of those beasts with as much privacy and expedition as we could. I began to make several excuses, and said I was afraid to go upon so dangerous an adventure: besides (said I) as I am the only white man you have amongst all your

people should I be seen at a distance, they will know me immediately to be your slave, and by that means you yourself will be discovered. All I could urge had no influence over him; he was resolutely bent that I should go, and ordered the man to provide a rope that instant. I begged on my knees that he would send another in my stead, but to no purpose; however, whilst he turned away, and was speaking to some other people, I withdrew, in hopes that when he did not see me, he would substitute another in my post; but the old villain turning short and perceiving what I aimed at, took up his gun and fired at me; the shot went through the straw cap I had on, and I was so near him, that the wadding struck my back. Finding he had not killed me, he took up a lance, and before any one could stop his hand, he threw it at me. He raved, and gave me all the opprobrious language he could think of. As to swearing, they are not any ways addicted to it; a custom too prevalent amongst us christians, to the shame and reproach both of high and low. However, at last he was pacified, and on my submission, and the solicitations of his friends, he forgave me; but peremptorily insisted on my obedience to his commands. As there was no remedy, I proceeded with the man, though with many bitter reflections on my wayward fortune, and state of bondage.

We soon came near the place to which we were directed, and after we had wandered about some short time, we espied about half a score of cows grazing; our next concern was to see if any cowkeeper was tending them. To confess ingenuously, I was scarcely ever in more fear in my whole life; the noise of the pretty little lizards, who hop about the trees, and create a rustling amongst the leaves, appeared at that time in my ears like the rushing out of so many men from an ambuscade; but after we had listened very attentively, and taken a short tour with the utmost precaution, we at length ventured to sally out from behind the covert of the trees, and pitch upon one that was for our purpose; my comrade took the rope, which till then he had



twisted about his middle, and secured her; we had much ado to get her from the rest of the herd; but at last we mastered her, and drove her through the woods, for we thought it safest to avoid all open places, and by noon we reached home. In a few minutes she was cut up by a dozen hands at once, for fear the right owner should have missed her, and should follow our track. The meat was divided into two hundred pieces, and distributed to the same number of men. My partner and I had the udder, and a slice of the buttock, which is the customary fee to such as bring in either a stolen beast, or one taken from an enemy; as almost every one in the town had a small portion, all of it was despatched immediately; and the next day we were in the same plight as we were in before.

It was now winter, and as the stalks of the yams are then withered, they are very difficult to be found; in-somuch that we were reduced to the utmost distress, and almost famished. If we could get a meal once a day it was luxurious living; when the children, therefore, cried for food, though they had none all day, their mothers could with authority take them up short, and say, would you be gluttons? Did you not eat yesterday? These shocking taunts from their poor and distressed parents, I heard for some months together; and our calamitous circumstances were visible in our ghastly countenances. Here were no wars, no acts of hostility now; our enemies never concerned themselves about us, nor we with them. Thus we lived for eight or nine months after we had lost our cattle. Our enemies, however, were in a worse condition, if possible, than we were; because deaan Murnanzack and his brother, who lived on the other side, frequently interrupted their repose, and deprived them of the only happiness that attends a state of poverty; and that is, to sleep away one half of their tedious hours, and so lull the acute sense of their misfortunes.

Deaan Crindo, and, indeed, every body else, sincerely wished for a peace, without finding any expedient to accomplish it; and though deaan Murnan-



zack's success had made them despair of one upon any honourable terms, yet Providence threw an accident in the way, by which it was effected. Rer Vovvern, king of Feraigner, which is St. Augustin-bay country, had declared war against Woozington, our common enemy; and had sent an ambassador, one Ry-Nanno by name, a very able and experienced person, whose commission was to reconcile the contending lords of Anterndroea; and procure their friendship and assistance in the common cause. No sooner was he arrived at Fennoarevo, than the joyful news spread round the country, and reached our ears. Deaan Crindo, without any hesitation, permitted Ry-Nanno to make the first overtures from him to his nephew Murnanzack; to whose residence the ambassador was then gone when he heard it.

It was with no small reluctance, that this prince listened to a peace; for not only his uncle's deportment, but that of his sons too, was so inhuman and savage, in destroying the cattle belonging to their nearest relations, rooting up their plantations, and committing other flagrant enormities, that he almost forgot his own private wrongs, and looked upon deaan Crindo as the general enemy of mankind, who, to gratify his unruly passions, endeavoured to lay his country waste; notwithstanding he himself, at the first breaking out of the quarrel, had shown him so glorious an example. With what generosity did he treat both Crindo and Mundumber, and all who belonged to them? How careful was he of their towns and effects? Evidently demonstrating that he aimed at nothing more than doing himself justice, and deciding a controversy that was too warmly pursued, and that the murder of men in cool blood, and the destruction of countries, were actions of horrid impiety. And as Ry-Nanno told me afterwards, it was his innate virtue that at last determined him to a reconciliation; for he thought the Supreme Being could never look down with a favourable eye on a man who would refuse to relieve his fellow-creatures from such calamities as his countrymen then laboured under. And this was the principal motive, in the height of his success,

to wave the prosecution of his own interest, when it stood in competition with the public good. These were the truly noble sentiments and generous resolutions of this great man, notwithstanding his contempt of revelation ; or, at least, of the christian religion, as I had represented it to him in a disadvantageous light. I wish our priests who build so much on their superior knowledge of God's will, would be as exemplary in their lives and conversations, and would teach princes as well as others, to be in reality so truly just, honourable, and good as this gallant black prince was in all his actions ; and yet I doubt not, but he will be stigmatized with the odious character of an illiterate heathen.

As soon as Ry-Nanno had concluded his negotiation with deaan Murnanzack, he passed by deaan Afferrer, well knowing he would acquiesce with what his brother had done, and came to us, in order to compromise the quarrel we were engaged in with Chahary and Frukey. He condemned them for their rashness in the prosecution of their private resentments to the ruin of themselves and their country, and told them it was represented in a very bad light to all the kings on the island. He met with no great difficulty in the accomplishment of the reconciliation he aimed at ; which being effected, he told them that Rer Vovvern had a pique against Woozington, for several very gross affronts. Amongst others, he had called a dog by the name of Rer Vovvern ; and Ry-Nanno expected he should wait on them next summer to beg their assistance against Woozington ; but his errand was at that time principally out of friendship, to put an end to their destructive divisions. In a few days a peace was concluded and publicly proclaimed all over the country.

While Ry-Nanno was delivering his first speech to Rer Mimebolambo and deaan Mevarrow, I observed that he fixed his eye attentively upon me, and seemed to view me with some concern ; and calling to me in broken English—you, white man, come hither. When he asked me my name, he turned to my master and asked, here is a white bird among a parcel of crows ;

in our country, indeed, they are common enough, ships come there frequently, but then they wear clothes, and eat and drink with our lords. This poor young lad looks piteously: why do you suffer him to go naked? Pray show some charity to a distressed stranger, and do not use him with inhumanity. Deaan Mevarrow answered, I have used him more tenderly than he deserves; you do not know how his friends served deaan Crindo. Yes, says Ry-Nanno, I know the whole story perfectly well; and that deaan Crindo treated them in a barbarous manner in refusing to let them go at their request to a seaport, where ships come, in order to return to their native home. Had Rer Vovvern this white man, he would give him some of the clothes which his countrymen have left behind them, and take as much care of him as he would of his own son, till some ship should come to carry him home to his friends.

I listened to this discourse with the utmost attention, and waited with impatience for a favourable opportunity of talking with him in private, which I did that night; for he brought part of the cattle which deaan Murnanzack gave him, as he very well knew that we had none, and I was sent for to kill a bullock. I embraced this lucky opportunity, and told him in broken English, that I would wait on him at night. Accordingly I went, and he received me with abundance of humanity and respect. After we were seated, he inquired into the whole history of our shipwreck and misfortunes. I gave him a long and faithful detail thereof, not forgetting to acquaint him with the cruel treatment I met with from my master, and to set my wretched state of slavery in the strongest light. The relation of this melancholy tale, not only made me weep, but drew tears likewise from his eyes. He told me he would endeavour to purchase me of deaan Mevarrow, and desired me not to be too much dejected. I stayed late with him, and when we parted, the hopes I had entertained of his kind intentions to release me, kept me awake all night. The next day, after he had discoursed with my master about their own private

affairs, he asked him if he was inclined to sell his white man; and in case he was, he would give him in exchange a handsome young fellow, capable of doing him more service, or a buccaneer gun, if that would be a more agreeable compensation.

I was sitting among my fellow slaves, and waiting with the utmost eagerness and attention to hear the result of this conference. When my master ordered me to stand up, I was in hopes it was to strike the bargain; but, instead of that, says he, look on that white slave there; for looking after cattle, digging of wild yams, and improving of honey, there is not his fellow; and though a buccaneer gun is the common price of a slave, I will not take two for him. Ry-Nanno thereupon showed him three or four slaves, but Mevarrow told him in direct terms that he would not part with me on any conditions whatever. Then turning to me, he asked if I was not willing to dig some wild yams for him, as well as his other slaves who were just gone on the same errand before. Not daring to refuse, I was forced to take up my hatchet, shovel, and lance, and go into the woods; but instead of searching for yams, I sat down and wept till I was almost blind. However, I was under an indispensable obligation to find some to carry home, which was no easy task, for the stalks were now withered; yet I made up a bundle, after roasting them, but had none myself. When I came home, my master thought I had been idle, and said, you are mightily concerned I suppose, that Ry-Nanno is not your master. I went home and laid me down on my mat, and had nothing but a log of wood under my head for a pillow till some considerable time after it was dark, and then I stole privately to Ry-Nanno.

I was no sooner seated, than he told me he was glad to see me again, and asked me what success I had met with, which I told him; and, moreover, that my master had abused me to the last degree for bringing no more yams. He said I was the first man he ever saw who had a black for his master; and though he could not purchase me, yet he did not question, but Rer Vorvern

would find some ways or means to get me into Feraigher, when he came next summer into this country. To that I replied, that I was afraid my master would not take me to the wars for that very reason, and that I despaired of ever regaining my liberty; but I was determined to make the experiment as soon as ever my master went out on another expedition, and left me behind him. Ry-Nanno endeavoured all he could to comfort me, and said, the same Providence which has hitherto preserved you, will deliver you at last; and I have great hopes of seeing you at St. Augustine-bay; for, said he, since Tuley Noro's death, there are but few ships come now to Port-Dauphine, though that, indeed, is the nearest seaport, for ours is a great way off. I desired to be informed how many days' journey it was, and which way he came; for I am determined, said I to attempt my escape; if they overtake me, I am sensible I shall be killed, but then I shall be freed from my present bondage, which is worse than death; and should I fall into any other master's hands, it is morally impossible he should treat me worse than this has done. The whole country of Merfaughla, said Ry-Nanno, lies between us, extending itself from the utmost part of Anterndroea, where deaan Murnanzack's cattle are kept, to the river Oneghayloghe, which runs into St. Augustine-bay; and I think I was about forty and two days on my journey, but could have performed it in less than half the time, had we not hunted by the way; for the whole country, said he, is so well stocked with proper subsistence, that no one need carry any provisions, unless he be in a more than ordinary hurry. There are abundance of wild cattle in great part of it; besides, there is a large quantity of faungidge, verlaway, wild honey, and wild yams to be had, wherever you go. I inquired what kings lived in the way? He said three. Rer Trortrock is the first to the northward; the next Rer Chulu-Mossu-Andro, and Zaffentampoey; this last resides at the head of the river Oneghayloghe, to the eastward; all their people, however, live near two long days' journies from the road. The nearest way, said

he, is by the foot of Yong-gorvo hills, till you come to the west side of it, then strike over to the northward half a day's journey, and take your course betwixt the north and west, and you cannot lose your way. I asked him a great many more questions till it was late and time to depart, but he would not permit me till I had supped with him. The next day he took his farewell of my master, and I stole away privately to thank him for all his favours. As they were packing up his provision, &c., he advised me to oblige deaan Mevarrow as much as possible, lest he should kill me or do me some secret injury, and bid me likewise not despair of getting home to England. He then made me a present of a large piece of beef, and after repeated expressions of my gratitude for his tender concern for me, I parted from him, though with abundance of reluctance. When I reflected on what had passed, I began to entertain quite different thoughts of being in another country from what I had done; for I found here were great numbers of people, nay, whole nations too, who were civilized, and understood the laws of decency and good manners; but it was my misfortune to fall among the most savage people of the whole island.

The next day the crier went round the town with orders to all deaan Mevarrow's slaves to muster before his door. Among the rest I went to know his pleasure, which was to get ready and march with all our baggage the next morning to our own town; which was cheerfully complied with by every body but myself, who was very indifferent where I lived. So when we had taken our leave of Rer Mimebolambo and his people, we marched home and found our habitations very little worse than when we abandoned them, for they were at that time newly built. The orders were to attend and receive axes and hoes for the cultivation of the ground. Whilst some cleared it of the wood and briars, others hoed it up instead of ploughing it. Our master sent to his uncle Mephontey for a considerable quantity of guinea corn and caravances, which were soon sowed; and then indulged his slaves for a fortnight, in order to

improve their own plantations. I desired deaan Sambo to use his interest with my master, that I might have two days more to take care of my honey, which I had secured from thieves, by setting up white sticks as a testimony that it was poisoned by the charms of the umossee. He gave consent; and thereupon, I took three large tubs, each of which would contain five or six gallons, and as many calabashes. I had farther to go than from our old town, which had been burnt; but when I came there, I found my hives all safe and untouched, and my stock of honey prodigiously increased. I smoked the bees out, and took the greatest part of their treasure away, but not all, leaving them some to subsist on, for they will return of themselves to the hives, and when they swarm, go directly to new ones without any of that fatigue we have with them in England. I found some fine Virginia honey with white wax, which I put into my calabashes. As it was near two years since I had seen them, I had almost forgotten where to look for a good part of them, they being planted at a great distance from each other in different corners of the wood. I filled, however, all my vessels, and left as large a quantity behind me for the next day's journey. As soon as I got home, I waited on my master and made him a present of one of the tubs: now these lords always expect an acknowledgment on such occasions. When my master saw how large a quantity I brought him, he was surprised, and asked me why I brought him so much? For to do him justice, I cannot say he ever discovered a covetous disposition.

Besides, we have no officers to exact any certain quantity, but the people must go voluntarily, and carry a present of such commodities as their plantations and industry have produced; as carravances, guinea corn, potatoes, &c.; but this is only by way of acknowledgment of homage, and a calabash only would have been looked upon as a sufficient compliment. But as I was sensible that he had a circumcision-feast to make, and I had a large stock, I desired him to accept it. He told me it was true, and for that purpose he would



purchase all the honey I had to spare, and give me a cow and a calf for it the first cattle he had.

The civil war being now over, we lived at ease, and could dig our wild yams without the least apprehensions of danger. People now went backwards and forwards to visit each other as usual, and every one attended his plantations; it was six months, however, after this, before we had plenty. My conversation with Ny-Nanno was ever in my mind, and I only waited for a favourable opportunity of my master's going abroad upon some exploit, to make my escape, if possible, at all adventures. After some time, it happened that one Rer Ambarroch, a petty prince to the northward, having received and detained eight slaves of deaan Mevarrow's, and thirty head of his cattle, a little before the civil war began; and the deaan sending a special messenger to demand them, he sent word back that he might come himself and fetch them, if he thought fit. He being now at leisure, Rer Mimebolambo and he agreed to join their forces, and having obtained leave of deaan Crindo, they prepared for their expedition.

I expected to be left behind, as usual, to take care of his wife, and pleased myself with the hope that the time was near at hand for putting my design in execution; but standing before him with two lances in my hand, you shall not, says he, always live at home like a woman, but shall go to the wars with me; the sight of a white man in arms will strike terror into the people upon the mountains where we are going. Hereupon he took my lances, and said, here is one of your grandfather's arms; you can manage this, I presume, somewhat better than ours; prepare yourself for the march.

I desired, however, that I might have one of my lances, which he gave me, and twenty musket balls, a sufficient quantity of powder, and two flints. I took up my mat as usual, but my master gave it to one of his slaves to carry for me, so I walked, gentleman-like, without any luggage.

Our little army consisted of about three hundred men, exclusive of the slaves; we went to the northward



all the first day, on the second we got into the forest to the east of Yong-gorvo, where the wild cattle are ; there we hunted, and killed some beef, while four men were sent out as spies toward Rer Ambarroch's town, to survey the fortifications of it. We were almost a day's journey from it ; and, indeed, it was not advisable to go nearer, lest some of their people should have discovered us, and alarmed the town ; for those wild cattle were their principal maintenance and support. Our spies returned, and brought intelligence, that it was an open place without any fortification at all. Thereupon we marched all night, and arriving at the town by break of day, we divided ourselves to surround it, and fired into their houses to alarm them ; the barking of the dogs and the noise of the guns soon roused them, and away they scowered, for we gave them no time to collect themselves into a body : so we plundered them at once, and took what prisoners we could find. I saw the prince's house, and ran directly up to it, in hopes of taking him prisoner ; but he jumped out and fired at me : as I was going to return it, a man threw a lance at me, which I put off and fired at him, and put a stop to his running ; but by that means the prince escaped.

I entered the house, and found his wife and daughter, with two or three slaves attending them. I took hold of the ladies' hands, and led them both out, and left others to plunder the house as they pleased, since I had a good prize enough ; but one of Rer Mimebolambo's men, who had got no booty, would fain have taken one of my captives from me ; whereupon I told him, I supposed he was a coward, and had sneaked behind a tree in the action, or else he might have found something worth his acceptance. He insisted on his demands, and reproached me with being a slave, till some of our people came up, at which time he was obliged to depart with shame ; for a complaint being made to deaan Mevarrow, he justified me, and severely reprimanded the poltroon. For there was an agreement made before we set out, that what cattle should be taken be divided ; but all captives should remain in

the custody of those who took them. When we had driven all the men away, we got what cattle we could find together, and made the best of our way through the wood with them, lest the enemy should rally and attack us. As soon as we got into the plain we halted, and made preparations to receive them; and about two hundred of them soon came as we expected.

I delivered my two captives, as every one else did theirs, to the slaves that were in the rear, whilst we marched; and as we came near them, they also met us; so that we made a discharge almost all at once, and killed three or four of their men. We halted a while to load again, and perceived that they stood confounded, and looked in a very wishful manner on one of their party who was fallen. Having loaded again, I and some few more ran directly up to them; seeing us approach, which is not usual, they fired at us and ran away. We followed them till they got shelter in the wood, and then returned to the main army. On our retreat, they sallied out of their coverts, and followed us at a distance, being desirous to take one view more of their wives, children, and cattle; and to observe our motions, in hope some accident might happen, that might give them a favourable opportunity to avenge their cause, and retrieve the losses they had sustained.

At noon we came to a shady grove, and there halted near a spring, in order to refresh ourselves; for we were all fasting. As soon as my master was seated, he ordered me to bring my two captives before him; and applauding me for my courage and conduct in the action, he told me I should keep one of them myself, and have my choice too, and that he would be contented with the other. I soon determined in favour of the young one, who, in truth, was extremely agreeable; and I was pleased with her from the first moment I took her. She was not above sixteen years of age; her mother, whom I presented to my master, was about four or five and thirty. Deaan Mevarrow was pleased with my choice, for he was inclined to do a generous action; and thereupon calling her to him, he told her,

her husband had brought all this misfortune upon himself by his unjust and obstinate proceedings; and (said he) I have only followed his directions; I am come myself as he bid me, and have fetched away all my women; and I perceive, some of my own cattle, with a sufficient quantity of his, to pay me and my friends for our trouble. As for yourself, I will restore you to your liberty; go back to Rer Ambarroch and acquaint him, that if he be inclined to have his daughter and cattle again, he must come and fetch them. You see she is fallen into my white man's hands, and for my part, I will never take her from him. And, said I, I will lose all the blood in this white man's body, before he shall have her again.

After she had refreshed herself with some meat, which deaan Mevarrow presented her with, she came to me in order to take her last farewell of her daughter. They both wept heartily, not expecting ever to see each other more; I pitied them, I confess, and would have dismissed the young one, had I not really been in love with her. To confess ingenuously, I never saw any woman before that time I liked so well; though I had been so many years in the island. I comforted the mother, however, as well as I could; and desired her, not to be too much concerned for the loss of her daughter, since she should live as well as I did; nay, I assured her, that I would take more care of her than of myself; and though I was not of a sable hue, I had a heart as fond and indulgent as any black whatever; and therefore, though she fell to my lot by the chance of war, yet it was my design to make her my wife, if she approved of it; if not, it was possible, I said, she might lead a less comfortable life. Her mother asked her, what she thought of the motion? She answered, she was at my disposal, and not at her own; and desired her duty might be presented to her father. And present mine too, said I, if you please, mother. So after some farther discourse for a short time, they parted. She took her leave of deaan Mevarrow, returning him many thanks for his courteous treatment,

and went away by herself; though she had not, I presume, far to go alone; for her friends were, doubtless, as near as they durst come in the woods, to observe our motions. And though we never saw them more, yet we kept a strict guard all that day, and the following night. I was very fond and careful of my pretty prisoner, tying a rope about her middle, with the ends about myself, and laid her close to me, folding her fast within my arms; she only smiled and rallied me for it, but I was so fearful lest she should get away, that I could not sleep. We marched apace the next day, and when we halted, Rer Mimebolambo and deaan Mevarrow divided the cattle, each had two hundred and eleven; and then they parted, each taking the nearest way home.

Before we entered the town, we made another halt, in order to divide the cattle among ourselves; the deaan had thirty, his brother ten, and each of the other principals one. He that had two slaves retained one of them, and delivered the other to his lord, and had a cow and calf in lieu of it. If two men got a slave between them, they had each of them a cow for it; even he who had taken no slave was to have a cow, provided the number would admit of it; if not, one was divided between two; and this is a general and an established law, with respect to the division of an enemy's spoils.

Deaan Mevarrow told me I had but one slave, whereupon I alleged he had taken one away, and might have kept her, if he thought proper; but I perceived he was only in jest, for he gave me a cow and a calf as an equivalent for her; and generously enough offered me another cow and calf for my honey, but I modestly declined that favour; so he chose them for me himself out of the fattest of the herd. By this means I became rich at once, having two cows and two calves, and a handsome jorzerampeller; that is to say, a handsome girl.

No sooner were we come to the town, than the shells were blown, and all the women ran out to see what

was the cause of it, not expecting our return in so short a time ; but when they knew who we were, they ran back to their houses till we had made our triumphal entry, and deaan Mevarrow was seated ; then his wife came out, and as it is the custom there, licked his feet, and after her, the rest of the women paid him the same homage ; and after that, each of them testified her duty to her own husband in the same submissive manner. I thought, indeed, I had now a wife, and as fine a one as the best of them all ; and that the next time we returned from such an expedition with the like success, I should have homage done me too. My mistress sent and desired to see my young spouse ; I went along with her accordingly, and she would make her sit down on the same mat with herself, and could not refrain from tears, it having been her own case ; whereupon she charged me to use her tenderly. I did not intend, I told her, to make a slave of her, but a walley, that is, a wife.

As I had a stock of honey in a neighbour's hands, as also some carravances, and a sufficient quantity of milk, I made a very tolerable repast for my bride and myself ; and mimicked matrimony so far as to take her by the hand, and assure her that I was willing to make her a constant and tender husband ; and asked her, if she was equally willing to be a faithful and loving wife ? to which she cheerfully consented. So we lay down together, and though we had no bride-men or bride-maids, or throwing of stockings, yet we were as happy as our circumstances would well admit of.

Some of my readers, perhaps, may wonder how I could be so passionately in love with a black woman ; but as I had been several years in the country, and they were become natural to me, I think the wonder ceases. Besides, she was extremely handsome, of a middle stature, very straight, and exactly shaped ; her features were regular, and her skin as soft, fine, and delicate as any lady's in Great Britain. And to do the women there justice, all who are of any rank and well brought up, have the last good quality to boast of.

There are uncleanly, coarse-skinned creatures, indeed, amongst the vulgar, as well as in Europe; but the women do not go naked as some of the Guinea negroes. Their dress is a lamber, much longer than that of the men's, and reaches to their feet from their middle; above and under the lamber, they wear a kind of shift, which covers all the body to the neck, and short sleeves. This, for the generality, is made of cotton, and is of a dark colour; those of the better sort embellish it with beads, in a very neat manner, more especially on the back, where they are ranged in rows and cross one another; and as they are of different colours, they form a large double cross so like a union-flag, that one would imagine they copied after it.

Thus much as to a general detail of the person and habits of these women, though I shall not, indeed, give them the preference to our Europeans; yet I must ingenuously confess, that it is with pleasure I reflect on mine, and remember our parting with the utmost reluctance and concern. For as to their fidelity, duty, and submissive deportment to their husbands, good-nature, and agreeable conversation, so far as their little knowledge extends, I think the Europeans come far short of them. We white people entertain a very contemptible and mean idea of these blacks, and a high and partial one of ourselves: they, on the other hand, have an exalted opinion of our merit; and modestly imagine, that we are far superior to them in point of knowledge, arts, and sciences: and therein, doubtless, they are right; but if an impartial comparison were to be made of their good qualities, the black heathens would, in my opinion, excel the white christians. I presume the reader will readily allow, that the best character I could give myself, in order to recommend me to my wife's mother, was, to assure her, as I did, that I had as tender a heart as any black whatever; for it must be acknowledged, though to our shame, that they treat one another with more humanity than we do. There are none miserable amongst them, if it be in the power of their neighbours to assist them.

There love, tenderness, generosity, and moral honesty, too, are very conspicuous; and that not only just in this one country of Anterndroea, but throughout the whole island, and even in other places more than here. My master, deaan Mevarrow, indeed, may be produced as an exception to this general rule, on account of his stealing his neighbour's cattle, I grant it; but it must be considered, that there are some men of bad principles in every country; he did it, it is true, against conscience, and stood self-convicted: for he knew what justice was, as well as any one, as appeared by his paying me my cow and calf in return for my honey; and in many other particulars. There is a wide distance between the capacities and virtues of some men; though it is with regret that I mention deaan Murnanzack's name in the same page with Mevarrow's; yet the peculiar vices of the latter are no objection to the national virtues of his country.

My reader will excuse this digression, I hope, when he recollects the only pleasure that alleviated the weight of my slavery while in Anterndroea. I looked after my master's cattle indeed, as I did before; but then I had a few of my own, and an agreeable companion to spend my leisure hours with, who took care of my house; and as I had plenty of honey, I never was without toake, for my wife and I to enjoy ourselves with, and entertain a friend upon occasion. So that I lived as well as the best of my neighbours, and being now much less fatigued than formerly, I was capable of taking more notice of the religion and laws of the country: and as I propose to amuse the reader with a particular detail of one of their circumcision-feasts, it will not be improper to give first an account of that little religion which they professed.

They acknowledge, indeed, and adore the only one supreme God, whom they call deaan Unghorray, which signifies the Lord above. There are, according to their notion, four other sovereign lords, and that each superintends one quarter of the world. The northern lord is styled deaan Antemoor; the southern, deaan Megud-



dumdummateme; the western, deaan Androwfertraer; and the eastern, deaan Anabeleshey. This last, say they, dispenses plagues and calamities amongst mankind, by the command or permission at least, of the great God; the others also are subservient to his commands, but are chiefly dispensers of his favours and blessings. They look upon these four as mediators between men and the Supreme Being; on which account they have a peculiar regard for them, and in their prayers and sacrifices, recommend themselves to their indulgence and protection.

I have already given the reader some account of the owleys, by which they seem to entertain the same idea as some superstitious people in Europe formerly did of familiar spirits; because they employ them as their favourite messengers with their petitions and prayers to their great God; and, after a sacrifice, expect that they should come and tell in dreams what they have to do, and also to warn them of any approaching danger. This bears a great conformity to the idea, which some christians have entertained of guardian angels, or some old philosophers of a good or evil genius; or rather, is more exactly conformable to a very ancient, and long received notion of demons; and for that reason, as we have no other term so fit in our language, I choose to distinguish them by that; for the owley is no more than the general name of the utensil, or altar; which is rather like a talisman, or sigil, to which the demon is thought to be attached, and by which, as a proper medium, they expect to be invoked. For there are almost as many different demons with proper names, as there are persons who have owleys; some of which are, Ry-Leffu, Tompack-Offnarevo, Laka-petu, Deer-mefacher, Deer-hurzolavor, Ry-mungary, Ry-ove. Then they invoke likewise the spirits of their forefathers, and have a great veneration for them; calling upon them by names that are given them after their decease; insomuch that they look upon it as a crime to address them, or speak of them by the names they had when living; and this name is principally known by the

word garevo at the end of it ; as may be observed in the repetition of deaan Crindo's and deaan Murnanzack's fathers' names by my mock retinue among the peasants.

The veneration they have for the memory of their ancestors, and the assurance they have of their spirits always existing, is apparent in almost every circumstance of the few religious ceremonies which they perform : the burial of their dead is very particular and solemn. I have frequently hinted at the great humanity with which they treat each other on all occasions, and under all difficulties of what nature or kind soever. In sickness they daily visit and contribute all that in them lies to the relief of the afflicted family, and the restoration of the patient. When any one is dead, all the relations and neighbours come to the house ; the women make doleful lamentations, and the men assist in the necessary preparations for the funeral. In the first place, they pitch upon a tree for the coffin, after that, a cow or an ox is killed, and some of the blood sprinkled upon it : imploring at the same time their forefathers, and the demons, and demigods to aid and assist them, and take care that the tree does not split in the falling, or that any one be not hurt either by cutting or felling it. When the tree is down, they cut it about a foot longer than the corpse, and split it directly lengthways, (for they always make choice of a tree which they know will split after this manner,) and dig both parts hollow, like two troughs. It is then carried to the house, the corpse being in the mean time washed, and wrapped up in a lambe, or frequently in two and sewed together. There is frankincense, or a gum very much like it, burning all the time in the house. They seldom keep the corpse above one day, especially in hot weather. They put the corpse in the troughs closing them together, and carry it upon six men's shoulders. Every family has a burying-place of their own, which no one dare infringe upon or break into ; nor indeed does any one attempt it. This is enclosed, and fenced round with sticks, like palisadoes.

When they come near the place, the corpse is set down, and then they proceed to the rest of the ceremony; that is, to make four fires, one at each corner on the outside of the burying-place; on these fires they burn the ox or cow, which was killed before for that purpose; then they divide it into quarters, which are all consumed in the flames: after this, they sprinkle frankincense upon the coals, and spread them all about. This being done, the chief or eldest of the family goes close to the entrance of the burying-place, and hollas aloud several times; after a short pause, he calls upon all the dead that are there deposited, commencing at the earliest, and proceeding to the last, and each one distinctly by his name; and in the conclusion tells them, that there is a grandchild, or near relation come to lie amongst them; and that he hopes they will receive him as a friend. Then the gate is opened, and two or three persons are sent in to dig the grave, which is made for the generality seven or eight feet deep; and the corpse is placed in it, and covered over with the earth without any further ceremony. None are permitted to enter here, but some of the nearest relations, and the bearers, and the door is immediately shut fast again. There is commonly a crowd of people without, who are busy in carving up, and dividing among themselves the cattle, that are distributed amongst them for that purpose, if it be a great and rich family that can afford it; but the poorer sort cannot gratify their friends in so bountiful a manner. They generally visit this burying-place once a year, to clear it from weeds and make it clean; but never enter it till they have first burnt a cow, or bullock before it.

I knew some who, during a friend's sickness, would make a sacrifice and prayer here, to invoke the aid and assistance of the spirits of their forefathers; but this is not a very common custom. And if any man have any peculiar ceremonies of his own, which others do not think proper to put into practice, no person is offended, nor do they concern themselves about it; and the reason is, because there are no people here,

who pretend to be greater favourites of the Supreme Being than other men, and to have a particular commission to interpret and declare his will. No one here has yet been so presumptuous as to attempt this ; and if any one should be so hardy, he would meet with but few to credit him.

Every man here, the poor man as well as the rich lord, is a priest for himself and his family ; and expects the demons should answer his requests in his dreams. If he differ from his neighbour in point of ceremony, as there is no damage given or received, so there is no hatred arises. But were they to set apart particular persons, and to give them a certain number of cattle and slaves every year, for the performance of some certain ceremonies, and instead of making their prayers to God for themselves, leave it to these to officiate for them, and prescribe rules and seasons to them, these very people would soon lord it over them. For they would terrify them with the anger of the great God, and demigods, and foment divisions among the people for the support of their interest, lest they should lose their substance and honours ; and at last punish any innocent person for their insolent inventions, under a sanctified pretence of demons coming in the night from the Supreme Being, and enjoiniug them so to do. We had an instance how easily mankind might be imposed on by these pretenders to prophesy, in my master Mevarrow ; and how artfully the imposition was carried on in one of our neighbours.

There was a person of distinction lived about two hours' walk from us, called deaan Olaavor, whose father died whilst I was here ; he was making preparations for his interment in the burying-place of his family ; and the night before, he dreamed his father appeared to him. Or, according to his own expression, his father appeared to him in a dream, and earnestly desired him not to bury his corpse ; but keep it in a sundock, or chest, and erect a little house for the reception of it.

This request he very dutifully complied with, build-

ing a house about three hundred yards from the town to the eastward, to which place he used frequently to resort, and make his prayers and oblations, and then pretended that the spirit of his father, which he called lulu-bay, or the great spirit, used to come and tell him strange things, which should occur to his neighbours. He frequently visited deaan Mevarrow, who gave the utmost attention to every thing he said; Olaavor perceiving his weakness, soon found out ways and means to turn the credulity of his friend to his own advantage: and when any troublesome time came on, he would industriously wait on Mevarrow, and inform him how angry his lulu-bay was, and what misfortunes he had just grounds to fear would attend him. Now whether, as he was an artful man, he conjectured rightly from the reason of things; or, whether he dreamed rightly (for sometimes, indeed, it happened as he said, and often otherwise) I shall not presume to determine; but his principal aim was (as it appeared to me) to get a heifer now and then for a pretended sacrifice, and frequently a present of some beads, and such other trinkets, for the pains he was at, using his best endeavours to appease the wrath of his lulu-bay, and procure his favour and assistance. The advantage he made of this was so conspicuous, that many people grew jealous of his conduct; but at length a brother of deaan Olaavor's was killed in the wars, and his lulu-bay never came in a dream to warn either one or the other of the impending danger. This not only opened their eyes, but convinced a great many more; however an excuse was at hand. That his brother had been remiss and negligent in regard to his prayers and oblations to lulu-bay; and for that reason he suffered him to fall. Deaan Mevarrow, and some of the weakest of the people, swallowed the cheat, and still continued their superstitious opinion of this great spirit, and were afraid to speak, or entertain the least contemptible thought of it; having always the plea of mean-spirited bigots, that they were safer who paid an awful regard to lulu-bay, than those who despised him. But be the case how it

may, if he were not a great and powerful spirit, either capable of injuring them, or doing them any good offices; if the whole were a mere fiction of deaan Olaavor's, yet there was no harm in thinking he was so, or in paying him honours; but upon the supposition that he was really such a potent spirit, and they should neglect him, then they were sure to suffer severely for their contempt.

This was all the idle answer those poor timorous creatures would give. on their being asked a reason for their tame compliance with deaan Olaavor; which, doubtless, would have been as good a plea for their paying divine honours to a potato, had any one told him he had a revelation in his dream, that it was a demigod. The reader, I presume, may entertain a more adequate idea of the natural disposition of the people, with respect to their morals and religion, from such instances and occurrences, than from any formal description which I can pretend to make; I shall therefore pursue my history, and give a particular detail here of the feast and ceremony of the circumcision of deaan Mevarrow's son.

The toake was made some weeks beforehand, by boiling the honey and combs together, as we in England make mead. They filled a great number of tubs; some as large as a butt, but some indeed smaller; a shed being built for that purpose, which was thatched over, to place them in. On the day appointed, messengers were despatched all round the country to invite the relations and friends. About three or four days before the ceremony of the circumcision was actually performed, you might see the beginning of a festival; people went about blowing horns, and beating drums both night and day; to whom some toake was given out of the lesser vessels as a small compensation for their trouble: deaan Mevarrow had procured two large oxen from deaan Murnanzack. They, who lived in the most remote parts, came a day or two before; and they were entertained with toake. In the evening, I found the town full of people, some wallowing on the

ground, and some staggering; scarcely one individual person sober, either men, women, or children. And here one might sensibly discern the effects of peace and security, the people abandoning themselves without fear or reserve to drinking, and all manner of diversions. My wife I found had been among them indeed; but had the prudence to withdraw in time, for she was fast asleep when I came home.

And now the day being come, I returned from feeding my cattle before noon, in order to bring up the two oxen and a bull, whose legs being at once tied fast, they were thrown all along upon the ground. The child was about a year old; for they have no stated time for the observance of this custom. He was decked with beads, and a skein of white cotton thread was wound about his head. A great crowd attended the festival. Some brought such presents as their abilities would admit, such as a cow, or a calf, beads, iron shovels, hatchets, and the like. Every one was served once only with a small quantity of toake in a calabash before the ceremony began. All things being now duly prepared, they waited for the signal from the umossee, who was all this time very busy, to all outward appearance, in measuring his shadow with his feet. When it came to the length of three and a half, he gave the word. Upon which, one of the nearest relations, who had the child in his arms, ran with him up to the bull, and putting the child's right hand on the bull's right horn, repeating the following form of words.

Tyhew deaan Unghorray, deaan Antemoor, deaan Anebeleshey, deaan Androfertraer, deaan Megud-dumdummateme, an Ruey Owley, Heer-razehu, it-toey acquo toey Anomebay loyhe ittoey handrabeck enney raffa loyhe.

Which in English runs thus:—

Let the Great God above, the Lords of the four quarters of the world, and the demons prosper this child, and make a great man of him. May he prove as strong as this bull, and overcome all his enemies.

If the bull roar whilst the boy's hand is on his horn,



they look on it as an ill omen, portending either sickness, or some other misfortunes in life ; and all the business of the umossee is nothing more than this :—to tell them what is the most unlucky hour or minute (like our strolling fortune-tellers) to do it in ; for, as to the religious part of the ceremony, he is no ways concerned in it ; if there be any religion intended by it, which is somewhat to be questioned ; for any experienced man of the neighbourhood, whom they imagine understands it best, performs the operation by feeling for the head of the yard, and cutting off the fore-skin as closely as possible, two men holding the child's legs and arms at the same time. As to the name, it is given long before, and frequently is changed afterwards ; this child was named Ry-Mocker. After the fore-skin is cut off, an attendant having a stick in his hand like a gun rammer, the biggest end whereof is pointed, puts the fore-skin upon it, and going to the wood, throws it towards the east. The ceremony being over, the child is delivered to the mother, who is all this time sitting upon a mat with the women round her. And now their merriment began ; the thatch was all pulled off the toake-house, and I was ordered to kill the bull and the oxen ; but these not being sufficient, my master sent for three more which had been brought him by his friends, for there were abundance of mouths to be fed. Before they began to drink, he took particular care to secure all their weapons, and no man was permitted to have so much as a gun or a lance ; and then they indulged themselves in boiling, broiling, and roasting of meat, drinking of toake, singing, hallooing, blowing of shells, and drumming, with all their might and main. I do not believe there were twenty sober persons among the whole company. These revels continued all night ; some went away the next morning, but most stayed till evening, so that the feast lasted three days successively.

These people are great admirers of toake, and some of the vulgar sort, as arrant sots, and as lazy as any in

England, for they will sell their guinea corn, carrawances, nay, their very spades and shovels, and live upon what the woods afford them. Their very lambers too, if worth any thing, must go for toake; and they make an ordinary one serve turn, so it will but just cover their nakedness. It is made of the tree called the whooring, which they cut down with their lances. The outer bark is taken away, and the inner, which is white, is peeled off whole, and beat with a stick till it is made soft and pliant; and then they wear it as a lamber, but it can never be washed. Their lambers, however, for the generality, are made of cotton dyed in the yarn. The richer sort, indeed, and people of distinction, buy silk and calicoes at seaport towns, and often give a cow and a calf for no more than will make them one lamber. The men wear no other clothes, but they adorn themselves with mananelers, which are rings round their wrists; and these, both men and women of distinction, are very fond of. They are sometimes made of gold (but where they get them I cannot say) oftener of silver, but more frequently of copper; which, at last, I found was produced and made in the country, as well as iron. They dress their heads in a very agreeable manner, curling up their hair to make it lie close, for they have hair, and not wool on their heads, as the Guinea negroes; neither are their noses flat, though small, nor their lips so big as theirs, but their hair is always black, and for the generality, has a natural curl. Deaan Crindo's family are particularly distinguished, on account of their long hair, and their copper-coloured skins. Notwithstanding they have no idea of letters, yet they have here very wholesome laws, which are fixed in their minds and handed down from generation to generation. I well remember many of them, the recapitulation whereof, I flatter myself, will be no disagreeable amusement to the reader.

If one maliciously assault his neighbour, and break a leg or an arm, the offender is fined fifteen head of cattle, which are delivered to the party injured.

If one break another's head, and he that is wounded have not returned the blow, he has three beeves by way of damage.

If two men quarrel, and one happen to curse the other's father or mother, whether they be living or dead, and his antagonist have so much command of himself as to refrain from cursing the other's father or mother, he recovers two beeves as a compensation.

If a man be caught robbing his neighbour of an ox, or a cow, he is obliged to restore it tenfold; and this is executed too with the utmost rigour, notwithstanding my master frequently broke this good law; but, like other great men, in more polite parts, he was not to be curbed by the ordinary laws of his country; and yet he, as well as most others, found, to his cost, that there were those who could cope with him; and was at last convinced, that if a man will live amongst his fellow-creatures, he must be observant of the fundamental laws, which the community wherein he lives has framed for their mutual peace and tranquillity; without which, men are not sociable animals, but each one is a mere savage, and the world an uncultivated desert.

If any one be found guilty of stealing guinea corn, carravances, potatoes, or the like, out of any of the plantations, he forfeits a cow and a calf to the owner, or more, in some measure proportionate to the offence.

In case one man's cattle break into another's plantation, the owner, for every beast found there, must give an iron shovel.

If any one steal another man's hive of honey, and be caught, the fine is three iron shovels. These iron shovels, hoes, &c., are a kind of small money with these people, for here is no trade but by barter, or the exchange of one commodity for another; and, therefore, they are as exact as they possibly can be, in proportioning the value of one thing to another.

If a man borrow an ox, or a cow, of his neighbour, and does not return it in a year's time, six calves are looked upon as an equivalent for the ox; and if into neglect payment at that time, those calves are supposed

to be three steers, and three heifers; and the increase, which by a fair computation arises by their growth and production, is the man's right of whom the ox was borrowed; and if it go on for ten years, or any longer term, it is computed what three bulls and three cows might have produced in that space of time, and all that produce is due to the creditor.

If a man lie with the wife of another man who is his superior, he forfeits thirty head of cattle, besides beads and shovels in abundance; but if the men are of equal degree, then the fine is twenty beasts only.\* In this country of Anterndroea, they are not addicted to such a plurality of wives as in some other parts of the island. If a man have but two wives here, and his brother or an intimate friend come to visit him, he never scruples to let him lie with one of them.

The nearest of kin, even brother and sister, marry, if they have not the same mother.

One brother, after the decease of another, often takes his wife; nay, his father's too, and lies with them, if they be not their own mothers.

To lie with one of the king's or prince's wives, is death by the established laws.

My master Mevarrow was jealous of a young man's being great with his wife, or, as he said, was well assured he used to lie with her. Whether he had any just grounds for such a suspicion, I cannot say; yet every body expected the young man would be killed for it; but his brother being a chief man, and a favourite of the deaan's, and the civil wars coming on, he seemed at that juncture to take little notice of it; but two years after the offence, when those dissensions were appeased, the man being constantly in his view, he determined to punish him; and, accordingly, when the young man, his brother, and some few slaves of us that attended them, were in the woods, it being so contrived, under pretence of stealing and killing a cow, he and deaan Sambo drew the young man into a re-  
cat.

\* A man can put away his wife at pleasure.

mote part of the woods, at a considerable distance from us, and in a short time we heard him halloo three times, at which instant deaan Mevarrow arose, and pretending to stretch himself with his lance in his hand, he struck the young man's brother through the body. This so surprised us all, that some of us ran one way, and some flew another, imagining our master mad; and some went home and positively asserted it as fact, this person whom he killed not being the adulterer. He had been our master's counsel-keeper, it is true, and knew all the secret recesses of the women and cattle; and taking it for granted that he would turn his enemy and revenge his brother's death, thought it most advisable to despatch him likewise. Deaan Sambo killed the supposed adulterer that moment the halloo was made, which was the signal agreed on between them; but whether he was apprized of deaan Mevarrow's wicked design upon the other, I cannot determine, for there were several others whom he brought there, as if he intended they should be witnesses of it. As deaan Sambo was the executioner, I was inclined to think there was more than suspicion, for that he was no cruel man, I was very sensible, by experience. I must own I had entertained a very favourable opinion before of my mistress, as I had never observed any thing like it in her conduct; but I had now almost done, not only with this family, but the country likewise; for every circumstance in my affairs had some tendency to promote my departure and escape, which, at length, I effected.

Not long after this, it happened, whilst I stole out to visit my own plantation (my corn, &c., being near ripe) that some of my cattle broke into the plantation of a principal man, and did him some considerable damage. My fellow-slaves soon informed me of the misfortune, and went to seek the beasts; but they were driven home by the planter's servants with very heavy complaints: I knew the danger of going within reach, or, indeed, within sight of my master; and therefore turned aside into the wood, to consider what measures were best to be

taken. At length, I recollected the friendship between deaan Olaavor and deaan Mevarrow: and for that reason went directly to him, and laid my unhappy case before him, and begged he would use his best endeavours to reconcile me to my master. He readily complied with my request, made me very welcome, and desired me to stay, not only that night, but the next day and night too; and then assured me, that he would go with me himself; but business would not permit him to go before. By this means I was absent long enough to alarm them, and give them just grounds to suspect that I had deserted. Deaan Olaavor, however, went with me according to his promise, and after he had expostulated the case with my master, and obtained pardon, I was sent for in, and restored to favour, with only some friendly admonitions for my better conduct for the future. As soon as their conversation relating to my fault and pardon was over, they fell into discourse on other matters; and deaan Mevarrow put his hand to his mouth, which is an action they frequently use to express their surprise at any thing more than common.

Deaan Olaavor, says he, I sent yesterday for an umossee, to consult with him about Robin, and to know what was become of him. After he had conjured a long time, he assured me, that I should see Robin once more; but the next time he went away, I should never see him again in the capacity of his servant or slave; for he will have a new master to the northward, with whom he will tarry but a short time; and then he will still go farther northward and have more masters; till, at length, he will return to his native country. I listened, I own, not only with attention, but pleasure, to what he said, though I put no great confidence in these fortune-tellers. Just as I was getting up to go home to my wife, my master called me; stay, says he, I have something to say to you before you go. Perceiving that I looked a little startled and surprised; I shall do you no harm, says he, only secure you. The umossee was sent for immediately, and then I found

they were going to enchant me (as they imagined) that I should not run away. I had seen this magical farce acted before upon such slaves as they are jealous of, frequently forcing an oath upon them by the demon Fermonner. And when these poor wretches have afterwards attempted to fly, and bewildered themselves in woods and unfrequented paths, or hurt themselves by any fall, or any common accident, they are weak enough to imagine that the demon Fermonner was the cause; that he confounded them, and dazzled their eyes in such a manner that they should not find their way. Two or three instances of this kind in an age, are enough to make fools give credit to the whole.

At length the wrinkled old wizard enters with solemn pace, and with a leering sneer in his haggard countenance, shakes his projecting noddle: Ha! Well I see you have him fast. I told you so. Who is he that shall presume to despise my prophetic spirit? You see as much is proved true, as the time will permit. Neglect my advice for the future; and look to the northward for your slave. But you may look, and send too in vain; it will be then too late. The spirits who are at my command may do somewhat now. What (says deaan Olaavor, who was not so great a bigot as deaan Mevarrow, notwithstanding his lulu-bay) has proved true? Robin never ran away at all, he would have been here yesterday, if I could have spared time; so that there is nothing at all in what you talk of. Pray, venerable sage, says deaan Mevarrow, (interrupting Olaavor,) pray proceed; I sent for you on purpose to take your advice. Prepare your charms. Away goes the fumbling old fool to work, scraping a root, and mixing several ingredients together, which, I was well satisfied, had neither good nor harm in them; (for I was afraid of nothing but his nose dropping into it;) muttering all the time, between his few broken teeth, words that neither he, nor any one else knew the meaning of. When the dose was prepared, he called it the fermonner, and put it into some carravances, which were boiled on purpose, and it was given me in a calabash. But



before I took it, he hung several roots about me ; one over my eyes, another at my back, one upon my breast, and one upon each leg, giving each of them a distinct name : then scraping a small quantity from each of them, and putting it into the mess of carravances, I was ordered to eat it, which I did without the least fear or reluctance ; in the mean time he pronounced his curses, as well as prayers over me. Whenever (says he) he thinks of running away, remember, O thou, deaan Fermonner, how he has eaten what belongs to thee ; and also, O ye, &c. [Here he named all the spirits belonging to other charmed roots.] how he has eaten what belongs to you ; and if he offer to run away, arise in his stomach, O deaan Fermonner, and make him so sick that he shall be incapable of stirring. And ye, which have hung at his back break it asunder ; let his breast be tormented with pain, and his legs fettered as with parra-pingos ; and if he attempt to fly, join all your united forces, and break his legs whenever he jumps and steps over any thing that lies in his way. Thus the old dotard went on for a long time, but in a more abrupt manner, and without any method. He tossed his hands about, and changed his voice almost every minute. He made, in short, a hundred impertinent repetitions and cant words of his own invention, and foamed like a fanatical enthusiast. When he had quite tired himself with preaching, he took off the charm and made me lick every individual root. Now let him go, says he, where he will ; the demons which regard these charms will soon inform me where he is, and I shall acquaint his master.

I had a holiday that day ; for my master was in a good humour, being highly delighted with what he had done ; and sent a proper servant to do my business. When I came home, I found my wife in a very melancholy posture, being under great concern for fear I should be killed. She would have provided something for me to eat, but I had dined, I told her ; and then related to her the whole affair. She was overjoyed to find I got off so well, and was surprised that I should

be so dull at it ; since she knew well enough I did not regard any of these ceremonies, and made a jest of them ; but my thoughts were quite otherwise engaged than she was aware of, and I did not think proper to let her know the truth ; which broke my rest to that degree, that I scarcely ever slept soundly there any more. I found myself now under the necessity of running away at all adventures. For should sickness, or any common accident attend me, so great was deaan Mevarrow's superstition, that he would, doubtless, have thought it had been effected by these demons or spirits, which were invoked in this incantation ; and have taken it for an infallible testimony of my resolution to go from him ; and then, very probably, in his passion he might have killed me. So that these conjurations, which Mevarrow depended on to prevent my departure, had the direct contrary effect, and was the strongest motive that could have induced me to it, and made it absolutely necessary that it should be so ; yet I have often smiled to think how unexpectedly true his prediction or guess proved, even in all its circumstances.

Whilst my head was full of projects in order to accomplish my flight, I could not forbear saying something in relation to it to a very civil, honest young fellow, who kept cattle always near me ; and was a captive from another country. One day I asked him, from whence he came ? and he said from the northward. Was I so near my own country, said I, as you are, I would not stay much longer in slavery. Nor would I, said he, if it were not for the demons ; who I am afraid will break my bones, ever since the umossee cursed me in the same solemn manner as he did you. At which I laughed. Why, if you have no apprehensions on that account, said he, you may get away with as much ease as I. At this I started, and told him, I suppose he only said so to try me. But he offered to enter into a solemn oath before the owley, that he meant as he said, and would assist me in my flight.

However, I dropt the argument for that day, but I tried him next ; for after I had sworn him in a religious

manner (knowing him to be like most people, more religiously inclined under misfortunes than in prosperity) I confessed ingenuously my secret intention, and asked his friendly advice. You have nothing to do, said he, but to fly directly to deaan Afferrer, who will protect you, and treat you in a courteous manner. When Rer Vovvern's army comes next summer, continued he, you may easily get to them; who would be proud to oblige the white men, by sending you home in the first ship which arrives at Feraighner. For nobody, says he, in the whole island will make a white man a slave, or keep him against his inclination, but these people. So that if you can but fly from hence, you will soon get to some town where ships come. I returned him many thanks for his kind advice, and told him I would show him my beehives, and the roots of which the charm was made. This I did with a view to make him keep the secret. And now,

I had but one hard task more to go through, and that was to prevail on my wife to accompany me, or let me conduct her to her father. It was a difficult point to break my mind to her; but at length observing her in a humour to talk of her friends, and wish she could see them, I told her, if she had courage enough, and would keep the secret, and always love me, I would venture to carry her to them, and stay with her; but she was superstitious too, and afraid I should be hurt by the incantations of the umossee. So that I pressed 't no farther. But to part with her, and leave her not only in bondage, but to be ill-treated, perhaps on my account, was a mortifying consideration; for I sincerely loved her.

However, there was an absolute necessity; my resolution was fixed, and no time was to be lost. It was then wet and rainy, and I stayed only till the weather was more favourable; which was about a fortnight. Near which time I took my comrade into the woods, and showed him my hives, and the manner how I dug the roots for the charms; for to attempt to undeceive him would have been to no purpose. The night before

I took my flight, I wilfully left a heifer in the field; having told my friend when I called, and desired him to look after my cattle whilst I went after the heifer, that should be the private signal of my departure. He told me it was two days' long walk to Yong-gorvo; but I said I would run it in one, and did not question but that I should get safely thither, (though my master should send after me,) if I were but two hours before them. When I came home with my cattle, my master took a survey of them, and missed the heifer; but after reprimanding me a little, he ordered me to get up betimes in the morning, and look for it, before it broke into any neighbour's plantation.

This was what I aimed at, in order to have the whole day before me; but now came the hardest struggle, which was to take a last farewell of my wife. It was some secret satisfaction, however, that I had no child by her. I was almost afraid to reveal the secret to her: but at length, after making her swear in the most solemn manner by the owley, that she would never disclose it, I told her in direct terms that I was going; and the only thing that disturbed me, was parting with her. She begged, and cried most bitterly; but there was no staying for me any longer, my life being every day in danger. Had I been in any other part of the country, where I could have lived with freedom, ease, and safety, I don't know what effects the unaffected love I had for her might have produced. At length, however, she was somewhat appeased, and I broke from her arms by break of day; but with what sorrow and reluctance, such of my readers as are tender lovers, can better imagine than I describe. I drove my cattle into the field, where my comrade was ready; I did not go near him for fear of being observed; but called, and bid him take care of my cattle: he said yes, yes, and away I walked, or rather ran; for by the time the sun was two hours high, I had got beyond the first woods, which is not less than ten English miles, if it could be measured.

I had now a large plain of five or six miles to go

over, here I looked back every now and then, for fear of being pursued ; but saw the coast was clear. My wife and friend, as I was informed afterwards, were true to the trust reposed in them. About noon, I came to a pond, where I just washed and refreshed myself, and kept jogging on till at last I espied the white cliff of Yong-gorvo. It is very high, and appeared like land that is seen about seven or eight leagues at sea ; that however did not discourage me, and two hours before night I was at the foot of it. It is half an hour's brisk walk to go up the hill to deaan Afferrer's town, where I arrived safely, and went directly to him. He thought as soon as he saw me, that I came with some message from deaan Mevarrow, but I threw myself immediately at his feet, and begged his indulgence and protection ; then I informed him of all the miseries I had undergone through my master's cruel treatment of me, and the apparent danger my life was in every day, and at that time more then ever.

No sooner was he convinced of the true reason of my making thus my earnest application to him, than I perceived a pleasure glowing in his countenance ; and he at once assured me, that he would protect me at all adventures, and that I should be a slave no longer ; that I should do nothing but go with him wherever he went : and as a testimony of his sincerity, he would present me with a gun. Now carrying a gun here, like wearing a sword in England, is the mark of a gentleman ; with this lance in your hand, said he smiling, you look like a mall-a-cross, which is a nickname they give to one of the meanest of their natives ; you shall now appear like what you are, a free-born man. I licked his feet with all the satisfaction imaginable, in conformity to the custom there, and returned him a thousand thanks ; nor did I forget my grateful acknowledgments to the Divine Goodness, who had thus far given success to my honest endeavours, to recover my former state of freedom ; and to implore his assistance in the completion of so happy a project, which I had no hopes of ever putting into execution.

When I assured them that I came from my own house in one day, there was scarcely any one would give credit to the assertion. About a week or two after, two messengers from deaan Mevarrow came to demand his white slave; and to reproach deaan Afferrer, for not sending me back by some of his own people on my first arrival. This imperious message made him smile: send him back, says he, and by my own people! and his white slave too! why, no one ever saw a white slave before; nor has he the least authority to make him one. I look upon him as a distressed man, fled to me for succour, and he shall never be exposed to misery any more. I shall make no slave of him; he shall be at his free liberty to stay with me, or go where, or whenever he sees convenient. He here expatiated on the conduct of our people, with regard to deaan Crindo; which being much to the same purpose as has been hinted before, I shall not recapitulate.

In short, he convinced the two men of the unreasonableness of their master's demand so far, that they excused themselves, and said, that they only came with a message. And I only tell you, says he, what answer to return to deaan Mevarrow. After this, he entered into familiar discourse with them, and asked them, what day I came away? When they told him he was perfectly surprised, and so were they to find I had actually walked it in one day; for it could not be much less than sixty English miles. I could not forbear rallying them, on account of their superstitious confidence in their umossees. See, says I, how my legs are swelled! how the spirits have made my bones rattle within my skin! I was a white man they said, and they had no power over me. As soon as deaan Afferrer had ordered them a house and provisions, and I had made some inquiry after my wife, which proving more to my satisfaction than I expected, I took my leave of them with pleasure; for I had some doubt before, what might be the effect of such a peremptory demand from deaan Mevarrow.

And now I lived, I must confess, with more freedom

than ever I had done as yet; for I walked about with my gun upon my shoulder. When the deaan was disposed to eat, I ate with him; though not in the same dish, indeed, for no one here has that privilege. I had little else to do, than to go with him a hunting; by which means I made myself expert in all the arts of taking wild cattle. My principal business was to observe the situation of the country, and to inquire the route which Ry-Nanno was expected to take.

I was fond of going often a hunting, in order to take particular notice of the most remarkable mountains, which might hereafter be as so many landmarks to me. Besides vohitch futey, or white hill, here is another high mountain more to the northward, called vohitch manner, or red hill. It is in form of a cone, or sugar-loaf, and runs spiring up a great height; the inhabitants are of opinion, that it is the highest in the whole world. After I had lived in this manner six months, Ry-Nanno met me by accident in the forest, as he was coming to give deaan Crindo, and the other lords, intelligence of the Feraighner army being upon their march. This was such agreeable news to me, that I was at a loss how to conceal my joy; and for that reason I walked into the woods, for fear they should discover my inclinations by my deportment. I attempted to return my humble and hearty thanks to the Almighty in my native tongue, for the fair prospect I had of getting to a seaport town; but found I had forgotten my English, and could scarcely with propriety put three words together. However, the Madagascar language served me well enough to express the sentiments of my heart.

Deaan Afferrer told me as soon as I came home, that he had seen Ry-Nanno; that Rer Vovvern was dead, and that his son deaan Mernaugha now succeeded him; and that his nephew deaan Trongha, assisted by his brother Rer Befaugher, and deaan Mernaugha's brother Rer Mundrosser, commanded the army. As I was conversing with the deaan, I could not help expressing my sorrow for Rer Vovvern's



death ; because he was so faithful a friend to all white men. I found he suspected my design immediately, for he told me, though in a very courteous manner, that he hoped I had no temptation to change my place of abode through his treatment of me. To which I replied, after thanking him for all his favours, that I had no thought of removing from my habitation ; that I was conscious to myself that I lived as well, or better than I could do in any other place. And, indeed, this was really fact, for he treated me with the utmost humanity and complaisance. I eat and drank as he did, and did no manner of work ; but I perceived by this, he was not inclined to part with me. For which reason, I was under a necessity to be more close and artful, than I should have been had I made such a discovery.

Orders were sent to the three towns under deaan Afferrer's command, that instead of hunting the wild cattle, they should make proper preparations for hunting the wild boar ; by which they meant the king of Merfaughla. Whereupon, all hands were instantly at work, cleaning and fitting up their arms ; for there are artificers here, who can make or mend a spring, and do twenty other things to guns as well as lances. The women employed themselves in making caps, to distinguish us in the wars ; these were made of the same materials as our mats. The children beat Guinea corn in order to carry with us. I made it my business to put deaan Afferrer's and my own gun in order ; and to cast a considerable quantity of shot or rather slugs, by making a hole with a round stick in a lump of clay, to cast the lead in ; and cutting it afterwards into little pieces about half an inch long. Though they frequently buy shot at the seaports, yet this was made, as I imagine, of the lead which they had procured from the wreck of our ship.

Ry-Nanno went back, after he had given notice of the Feraignher army's march to deaan Trongha, in order to meet him at vohitch-manner, according to appointment. Deaan Crindo sent orders that we

should march, and meet him at the river, where we watered our cattle, in deaan Murnanzack's country. I might have stayed at home, if I had thought proper ; but I was resolved at all adventures to go with them, though I told deaan Afferrer, I was under some apprehensions of my old master Mevarrow, whom, I concluded, I should see there. But he bid me be under no concern on that account, for he would protect me ; and deaan Mevarrow, he was well assured, would make no disturbance in the army. However, it happened better than I expected, for Mevarrow was left behind sick of the colah ; which, in Guinea, or the West Indies, is called the yaws. It is a cruel distemper, and bears a near resemblance to the venereal disease, affects the bones and joints with great pain and soreness, breaks out all over in blotches and dry scabs, and is mostly in the privy parts, and under the arm-pits. However, it is not actually that complaint ; for I have known children of three or four years old have it, whose parents never knew by experience what it was. There are but few who escape it once in their lifetime, but then they never have it more. In that respect, it is like the small pox, or the itch ; and caught also as they are. If a person, who never had it, follow one infected in the long grass or bushes, if he lie or sit on the same mat, or even eat and drink after the diseased person, he most assuredly catches it. For which reason they send their children, when afflicted with it, out to nurse, to such persons as live alone in remote places ; and when a man, woman, or a whole family is taken with it, they oblige them to go into the woods, and tarry there till they are perfectly recovered ; which is frequently a whole year, and sometimes two.

It was good news to me to hear that deaan Mevarrow was left at home infected with this distemper, and that deaan Sambo had the command of the people in his stead ; for I knew, by experience, that he was none of my enemy, though he demanded me in his brother's name upon his first arrival ; but when deaan Afferrer had expostulated the case with him, and told him what

answer he had returned him by the messengers ; when he urged, that it was natural for a man to fly for his life, who was every day in danger, and treated like a brute, had he been a lawful slave, which was not the case here, deaan Sambo gave up the argument, and turning to me, asked if he had not several times saved me ? I readily owned the obligation. Do not be afraid, said he, for I shall not insist on my demand any more ; but pray come often and see me as a friend. I gratefully acknowledged all his favours, and particularly thanked him for this last signal one, for he confirmed the account I had given of myself before.

As deaan Crindo had intelligence of the day the Feraingher army was to join them, he put himself in a posture to receive them with abundance of form and ceremony. He was seated under a great tamarind tree, with his sons according to their seniority on his right hand, and all their people ; on his left were deaan Murnanzack and his brethren, with all their people. The whole assembly formed a line of above a quarter of a mile in length. After a short time, the Feraingher army appeared, and as they advanced, they came dancing, each with a gun in his left hand, and a lance in his right, their shells sounding, and their drums beating. At a small distance they fired some pieces by way of salutation, which we immediately returned ; and now the three generals, deaan Trongha, Rer Befaugher, and Rer Mondrosser, went up to deaan Crindo and the rest. After the usual salutations, they were all seated under the tamarind tree, and ten calabashes of toake were sent for by deaan Crindo to entertain them. I sat all this time behind deaan Afferrer, with his gun in my hand. After mutual assurances of an inviolable friendship, the division of the prices of cattle was settled and adjusted. Deaan Crindo and his sons were to have one third ; deaan Murnanzack and his brethren another ; and deaan Trongha and his brother and cousin the remainder.

After they had amicably concluded their own affairs, and begun to be gay over their toake, says deaan Trongha,

you have got a white man amongst you, I perceive. Yes, says deaan Crindo, this is one of those who took me and my nephew prisoners, and would have delivered us into deaan Tuley-Noro's hands, who was our adversary. I don't think, says deaan Trongha, they would have done you any harm; you must doubtless have given them some provocation first. I did them no injury, replied the other, as I know of, unless maintaining them well was doing them injustice. They were inclined, indeed, to go to Antenosa, and I would rather have detained them to assist me in the wars; and was not this, says deaan Trongha, a manifest injury, and a just provocation, to keep free men against their wills in a country far from their native homes. I'll tell you, however, a very remarkable transaction of my grandfather's with these white men, before he was rightly acquainted with them.

An English ship came to our seaport town, which they call St. Augustine-bay, in order to buy provisions and furnish themselves with water. They did not go up to my grandfather's town, but he thought proper to visit them, and made the captain a voluntary present of two oxen; and the captain as voluntarily gave him a gun, and some powder and shot, as a compensation. The whites built themselves a house upon the shore, for the reception of their sick men. Some few days after we had been here, the white men and some of ours got in liquor together, and a quarrel arose amongst them. At first, indeed, they only beat one another with their fists; but at length, they made use of weapons, and a white man was killed upon the spot by one of ours. The news being carried immediately to the ship, the captain came on shore, and after a strict inquiry into the matter, he laid hold of the king whilst his people ran to the boat and fetched their arms. My father and Rer Vovvern instantly placed themselves at the head of our people, and would have attacked them, but my grandfather prevented them, for he was morally assured of being killed by one side or the other, so he went contentedly on board their ship. The fishermen

were under no apprehensions of danger from the whites notwithstanding this disturbance, for they knew them; and, besides, were well acquainted with their manners; so they went on board, and asked what the captain's demands were of the king? He said satisfaction for the loss of his white man. They returned, and in the name of the king's two sons, asked what satisfaction he required? The captain insisted on their sending him the man who killed the Englishman and ten oxen as an equivalent. The fishermen had no more wit than to deliver their message in the hearing of the murderer; whereupon, he fled directly into the woods, so that when they sent to secure him, he was not to be found. The fishermen returned to the captain, and assured him that they had made strict search for the criminal, but could not find him; however, if he would be contented with a slave or two in his stead, or with twenty oxen, they were willing to give him them. At this the captain was very angry, and peremptorily insisted on their producing the same man; for he had murdered his man in a most barbarous manner, and unless they found him, he would keep their father; but, notwithstanding, he would allow them ten days' time to make their farther search for him.

During all that interval, my grandfather's legs were loaded with irons, in order to prevent his making his escape; however, he eat and drank with the captain all the ten days' time, and was treated in a very courteous manner. When the term granted was expired, and the captain was fully satisfied they had done all they could to find out the murderer, though to no purpose, he took the irons off the king's legs, and asked him if he would enter into a solemn oath, never from that hour to do any act of injustice to an Englishman, or suffer any of his people to do it, if he could possibly prevent it. To which my father readily consented. When he had dined with the captain, they came on shore together. What! says deaan Crindo, do you and your family eat with white men? Yes, says deaan Trongha, we Andry Voler, for that is the surname of the family, not only

eat out of the same dish, but drink out of the same cup too, and look upon them as a part of our own family. We never attempted to assume any authority over them; they come when they please, and go where they please with us; and if any idle fellows do what they ought not to do, their captain never hinders their being punished. These white men are very advantageous to us, and they would not come amongst us, if we did not treat them with civility; besides, our grandfather has laid us all under a solemn oath, with a curse annexed to all our posterity, who shall treat an Englishman with severity; for, as soon as he and the captain came on shore, the owley was brought out, and they entered into a solemn and perpetual friendship, which all of us strictly observe, and imagine that God will not prosper us should we break it.

My grandfather hereupon gave the captain twenty oxen, which, though he received, he would return an equivalent in guns and other things; and had we this white man amongst us, we should give him such clothes as his countrymen have left who died there. He will never wear any of his own country clothes again, says deaan Crindo, I believe. Better you were hanged, thought I, though I durst not say so.

The next day we marched to the borders of Merfaughla, and there encamped. I lay always in deaan Afferrer's tent. The next morning, however, we shifted our quarters and marched a great way into the country towards Manner-ronder, a small river passing through several small towns, but found the inhabitants had abandoned them, and from the dung of the cattle, which was very dry, we judged they had been gone about a fortnight; for Woozington was a politic man, and would leave nothing for us to subsist on; neither would he weaken his army by fruitless skirmishes and unnecessary attempts, but wait till he was fully apprized of our strength by his spies, and had collected all the force he could to oppose us. A man came to me from deaan Trongha, and told me privately that his master desired to speak with me, to which I answered, I would

wait on him, as soon as I could possibly contrive to come without being observed. Accordingly, in about two or three days, I found a proper opportunity, and told deaan Afferrer I was going to see deaan Sambo. You need not ask me leave, said he, but don't go any where else; by which I knew his meaning, and found he was jealous of me. However, I returned, and by private ways, and in the dark got to deaan Trongha's tent, where was a numerous assembly. He spoke to me in English, and asked me how I did? I was obliged to answer him in the Madagascar language, for I had forgotten I told him my mother tongue. This, and my being naked withal, moved his compassion to that degree, that he spoke as indulgent things to me as my own father could; and assured me, that if he could find any means to take me with him, he would send me home in the first ship. Whilst we were talking, Rer Befaugher came in, who shaking me by the hand, said, Brother, how do you do? I answered very well, but could speak no more English, without a mixture of this country language. They informed me that there had lately been some English men of war in quest of pirates; and that they had directed them to St. Mary's, and Mattatanna, which are situate on the other side the island; and that there was but one white amongst them, and he a Dutchman; and moreover, that an Englishman had been killed not long since in the wars. I told him I was determined, at all adventures, to escape and follow them, but they said they would purchase me, though they gave six slaves for me. After thanks for so courteous a promise, and a mutual agreement not to take any public notice of each other, I took my leave of them and went to deaan Sambo's tent, who also treated me in a very handsome manner. He told me he was going to live by himself, and asked me if I would come to him? and I promised him I would. I took my leave and returned to our tent. The next morning we held a consultation, in which it was determined to throw the army into three divisions and march abreast, but at a quarter of a mile distance from



one another. We saw nobody all this time, till we were near the capital town, and then we perceived their spies that observed us, but the inhabitants were all fled. We passed the river Manner-ronder, and encamped upon the plain; we had not been long there before three men called to our people, and desired them to acquaint deaan Crindo that deaan Woozington proposed to pay him a visit next morning. Now he was an artful man, and full of stratagems, so they knew he would endeavour to surprise or overreach them. Upon which, we went hard to work to fortify the camp, which was thrown in a circular form. We cut down several trees and set up forked limbs; the spaces were filled with great pieces of wood, piled one upon another lengthways, at least four feet high, and as they joined close, they made a wall of it. In the next place, we dug the ground about a foot deep, and about seven feet wide, and threw up the earth against the wooden pile to make the wall still stronger; we left only two narrow entrances. The loose small boughs, with the leaves, were thrown carelessly, as it were, without side to hide the fortifications, so that it looked like nothing but a common method they observed, in order to conceal their numbers. When our camp was made secure, some few cattle were killed and we all went to supper, and then laid us down under our tent clothes, for we did not set our tents up, neither did we pull off our lambers, but lay close under the fortifications, prepared for an attack; the slaves that carried the provision were planted in the center.

We arose by break of day, putting our guns through little holes which we had left in our wall on purpose, and kneeled to fight with the more ease, and to take the better aim. We had not been in readiness above ten minutes before we saw them coming down with fury upon us. Whilst we were preparing to receive them, another party appeared on the contrary side, and proposed to have come upon our backs, but as we were in a circle we were all front. Our shells were immediately sounded, and our drums beaten, but we soon

altered this for another kind of noise. When they came within thirty yards of us, they fired briskly, still approaching, and having no notion of our wall, expected we should soon retreat from behind the boughs. I observed their eyes red with smoking jermaughla, which made them more resolute than usual. Of this I shall give a particular description after the account of the engagement. Ry-Opheck, with a body of men, attacked one of our entrances; he came skipping along, his eyes glowed like fire; he had a lance in one hand, and a gun in the other; his people ran after him in so furious a manner, that Trodaughe and his people, who should have defended the passage, gave way. We were employed on our side, and knew nothing of it till he had got within our camp; at which time one of our chief men turning about and seeing Ry-Opheck stabbing our men, fired at him, and shot him in the belly. When he found himself wounded, he retreated, and fell about thirty or forty yards from the place: his people, instead of revenging his cause, turned backward when he did. How common men will sometimes mimic a general's behaviour! But when they saw him fall, they returned to bring off his body, and this brought on a warm engagement in the open field; for deaan Afferrer jumped over the works, and most of us, who were his people, after him, and forced them to retreat. Here one, who was distinguished from the rest by his yellow complexion, and who seemed of superior rank, took aim at me, but luckily missing me, I wounded him in the thigh and ran up to him. I found his hand was full of powder, in order to charge again, and he threatened me hard, but I snatched his lance from him, and prevented him from either doing me any farther mischief, or hurting any body else. Another such push on the contrary side so totally defeated the enemy, that they flew for it; and we pursued them, but not indeed very far; because we were unwilling to divide ourselves, lest Woozington should have turned and taken the advantage of our confusion, which he certainly would have done, had an opportunity offered.

When we returned to our camp, the deaans all assembled at deaan Crindo's tent, who took notice of each individual man according to his merit, returning them thanks for their courage and conduct. He next made inquiry what men were lost on our side, and found no more than sixteen killed, and thirteen wounded. After that he sent out to number the dead bodies of the enemy, and found the total amounted to one hundred and seventy-five; among whom were sixteen persons of distinction; two of Woozington's younger sons, Meteorolahatch and Rer Fungenzer; his nephews, Ry-Opheck and Rer Chula; the names of the rest I never heard. Deaan Crindo gave orders that the bodies of these sixteen great men should be cut to pieces and scattered about the field, that their friends might not bury them. Two or three days afterwards we marched farther into Merfaughla, plundering and spoiling all their plantations.

As these people are more addicted to smoke jermaughla than any others, it will be proper to give a description of it here. It is a plant that grows about five feet high, and bears a small long leaf with a cod, which contains about a dozen seeds like hempseed. These leaves and seeds are mingled together, and laid in the sun for three or four days successively, till they are very dry, and so prepared, are fit to be smoked. Their pipes are made of reeds, or rather small canes. Sometimes they make use of a very long shell, which answers the end proposed. The quality of it is such that it makes them drunk; their eyes look red and fiery, and their looks fierce and savage. It is easy to know a man who smokes jermaughla; whilst the effects last, they are more vigorous and resolute, acting as it were like madmen. Those who are too much addicted to it are good for nothing but during the time they are intoxicated with it. My curiosity led me once to smoke a little myself; but it made my head so giddy, that I was drunk, as it were, for three days together, and so sick that I never meddled more with it.

Our spies were two days before they could discover

any cattle. At length, however, they informed us they had heard some bellow, whereupon a thousand men were detached to fetch them. They were gone a whole week; they returned, however, with above two thousand beeves, and two hundred and fifty captives, women and children. This great prize made them fond of a second expedition; so, upon a consultation, a new camp was formed, and fortified in the same manner as before; in which deaan Crindo remained with four thousand men, whilst two thousand went out to plunder; and on their return two thousand more were to go.

Deaan Afferrer, deaan Sambo, Rer Mimebolambo, and Rer Befaugher, went out with two thousand men. We had three or four for our guides who were perfectly well acquainted with the country, and knew where the cattle were usually fed. We were two days before we came to any of their tracks, and then they were driven off, and, as appeared by their marks, quite different ways. So our army divided, deaan Sambo and Rer Befaugher went northward, and we south-west. We marched in the tracks all day and all the next night, as it was moonshine. We found ourselves in the morning near the sea, where they had driven the beasts to the margin of the water, that the ebbing and flowing and the wash of the sea might efface their footsteps on the sands; as indeed it did in a great measure: but we continued our march all day, till we found out where they turned off towards the woods. The next morning our spies came in, and informed us, that they heard a cow bellow. We soon came to the plain, where we found a hundred at least, but these were not sufficient; and therefore, narrowly observing their footsteps, we traced them farther, and found eight or nine hundred more. Here were besides two or three hundred sheep, which we killed, the best of them we dressed, and left the others behind us. However, we were in great want of water, for we had none for nearly two days. At length one of our scouts discovered a pond, where the cattle used to drink, and this, though hot and foul, we eagerly

drank, as we could get no better. Till this time we saw no enemies, though we expected them, for we could see the cow-herds fly from their cattle, in order, no doubt, to alarm their masters. And as some of us were taking up this water, as clean as we could, in our calabashes, and whilst one in particular was stooping down to wash his lamber, a volley of shot was fired amongst us before we perceived any body. We looked up and saw about eight or ten men, who ran back into the wood, which extended along on the other side of the water, within three or fourscore yards. We fired at them, but they vanished out of sight. None of us were hurt, but the man who was washing his lamber; he received a shot in his fundament, of which he instantly expired.

Though I had been superstitiously addicted to observe certain fixed characters, or hieroglyphics, when they occurred to me in dreams, which was indeed but seldom, and used to find they foretold some things to me; yet I could not but observe a remarkable instance which we had here of relying on dreams, and I did not fail taking notice of it to deaan Afferrer, and thereupon to turn their superstitious devotions to their owleys into ridicule. For seeing me come in a hurry, and hearing guns go off, he asked, "What news?" "Nothing," said I, "but a man was killed by the order of his gods." "How!" says the deaan, "by the order of his gods? I do not understand you." "Why," says I, "a man prayed to his owley last night, and when he lay down, bid it not fail to come when he was asleep. The demon which attends his owley, according to his desire, came, and told him in a dream, or, which is the same thing, he dreamed he told him, that he must wash his lamber the next morning. He went along with us in obedience to this divine vision, to the watering place, though he had no other business there; and as he stooped to wash his lamber, was killed by a random shot, which he received in his posteriors from some of our fugitive enemies, who fired, ran away, and hurt nobody else." I was under no apprehensions of

deaan Afferrer's anger on this piece of raillery, for persecution on account of difference in religion is not thought of there.

I remember one instance, whilst I lived with deaan Mevarrow, of a piece of bigotry more blind and senseless, if possible, than this. A young man had an owley, the demon of which was called Ry-Leffu. He made his addresses one night to him, and Ry-Leffu in a dream told him, that his brother must shoot at him. Early in the morning he took above an hour's walk to his brother, told his dream, and desired him to perform the order of Ry-Leffu. His brother endeavoured to dissuade him from it, but the other insisted it must be done, or worse would ensue. "Well then," said he, "I will shoot near you, but take care to miss you." "No," said the bigoted idiot, "it must be executed according to order, without the least prevarication; for I am fully persuaded that the demon will defend me from all harm." At length he prevails on his brother, who loads his piece, and stands about thirty yards distant, and fires at his lower parts; but notwithstanding all his precaution he broke a leg; and then, blaming himself for his credulity, and being so easily overruled in an action he no ways approved of, ran with tears in his eyes to the assistance of the wounded bigot. In short, with the usual means, together with some of the fat of a sacrifice, laid on the owley of Ry-Leffu, the wound was healed, but he never recovered the free use of that leg.

We drove our cattle to the sea-side, the same way we came, by the verge of the water, and went round the bay called St. John's. I took particular notice of it; there is a ridge of rocks which seemed to extend quite across it, so as to leave no entrance; but were there a channel wide enough for ships to sail in, it would be a very commodious harbour, the waters being smooth within. Not far from hence, as I have heard, on the coast of Merfaughla, a French ship was cast away about two or three years before ours, and the whole crew destroyed; but the reason of their inhuman

murder, or the particular circumstances of it, I could never learn. They have no canoes, either here or in Anterndroea, for which reason the natives can have no commerce with ships. For they are very treacherous to white men of any in the island. Whether their little acquaintance with Europeans gives them a dread of them, I cannot say; but I am sensible they imagine that white men are extremely addicted to fighting, and not so tender-hearted as themselves. This received notion may be a great motive to their destroying them on very trivial provocations; for they are always jealous that the white men have some cruel designs upon them. So that they are ever on their guard, dreading the audacity and superior skill which the Europeans have over them in point of war.

As to their mercy. In such places where they have subdued them, as the French did in Antenosa, they made them all slaves, inverted the whole order of their government; and most of them being illiterate seamen, who took upon them to rule, they showed no regard, either to morality, civility, or indeed common decency; made no distinction of persons, confounded all order, and treated every black as if he were a brute; and so much inferior to themselves, as not to have the least right or title, in their opinions, to the common privileges of human creatures. So that to kill one of them was no more than killing a dog, or any other noxious animal whatsoever. I do not make this as a general reflection on the French only, though if credit were to be given to half that the natives say, they were guilty of the most scandalous and execrable actions. Our own countrymen (too much addicted to their follies and vices) are not exempt from the just cause of this scandal upon white men; for the conduct of our British pirates, and others too, who are not willing to be thought inhuman, has been barbarous to the last degree. And in the countries of Anterndroea and Merfaughla, where no stories are told but what are very strange; and as they cannot distinguish by experience, that wicked men



are the product of every land ; and having seen no good ones here, every white man is looked upon by them as much a monster as a cannibal is by us.

We returned to our camp with our booty four days before Rer Befaugher, who not only got a good prize of cattle, but of captives likewise : which they discovered by the observance of a smoke. Deaan Crindo was in pain to be at home, lest deaan Woozington should go into his country and plunder it ; but Rer Mundrosser and deaan Mussecorro would take their turn to see what they could find, and return with slaves as well as cattle. We had no enemy all this time come near us ; for deaan Trongha stayed in the camp till we returned. I told deaan Afferrer I would go and pay deaan Sambo a visit as before, on purpose to conceal my visit to the other. He treated me with the same good manners as at first ; but whilst we were in discourse, one of deaan Afferrer's slaves came in and told me his master desired to speak with me. I durst not speak privately to deaan Trongha before him, nor would I stay, as he would have had me ; but went directly with the man, being apprehensive of some ill treatment. When I came, he was in a terrible passion, charging me with being deceitful ; and asking me, if I intended to go away with them ? He would take care, however, that I should not go out of Anterndroea. I might go any where among his own countrymen ; but he would not part with me. I perceived he was determined to be my master, though he was a much better than deaan Mevarrow ; for he never offered to strike, much less to kill me. It was fourteen days before Rer Mundrosser returned ; he brought, likewise, several slaves as well as cattle. As soon as the cattle were divided, which was the next day, the army marched back into Anterndroea ; for deaan Crindo would not consent that the Feraighnarians should go home, till they had accompanied him into his own country, and till he was out of danger. Our habitation on Yong-gorro hills lay in the way. Dean Trongha, with his brother and cousin, came the night before we parted, to take their leave of

deaan Afferrer; and after some general discourse, he said, if you will part with your white man, I will give you three slaves for him. Though this was a handsome price, yet my master, for so I must call him, made answer, I will not take three times three for him. So no more was said, and deaan Trongha went his way. The next morning before they marched, I had the opportunity of seeing one of the Feraighner men; whereupon I desired him to assure his general that I would be with them in three or four days at farthest; for I was determined to run away, and follow their tracks at all adventures. At present, indeed, I was prevented; because as they were jealous of me, two men were ordered never to let me go out of their sight, either by night or day, till we got home. And for two months afterwards, I was never suffered to go any where without somebody with me.

Before I take my farewell of Anterndroea, my readers may justly expect an account of such things as I thought most worthy of observance, and which have not hitherto been described; and which, indeed, are but few, considering the great variety of things, which a more curious person than myself would have employed himself in inquiring into. But when they consider how young I was when I first came here, how I passed the prime of my years in slavery among these savages, and the little or no hopes I had of ever making my escape; it will not, I presume, be expected, that, at this time, I should have known what was worth a virtuoso's regard. I shall not, however, supply these deficiencies of mine, as many travellers frequently do, with inventions of my own. I could not help knowing such things as were of daily service, and in common with other places; such as bonanas, plantanes, monkies, turtle, and a hundred other things of the like nature; of which it would be impertinent to give a particular detail.

There is no good thing to be met with, either on the trees, or in the earth, that lie within three or four miles of the sea; nothing but short prickly wood, that bears

no eatable fruit. In the country there is great variety ; among which is a currant that grows on a tree, not a bush, as in Europe, and is very pleasant. Here is a very large tree likewise that bears a plumb ; which is black when ripe, and as big as a cherry, with little stones like those of grapes. There are thorns too on the tree about two inches long. Here is a fruit like a sloe, which grows also on a prickly bush, but is very sweet. Another fruit grows on the most stately trees, that are speckled like a sparrow's egg, and in the same shape, which is full of seeds, and very juicy. It is looked upon as an infallible cure for fluxes ; the leaf of it is like that of a pear-tree. Here is a tree, the leaves and tender sprigs whereof will sting like nettles. The root of this is of great service when water is scarce, which it often is in many parts of this country ; and as this root is spongy, it retains abundance of juice. We beat it in a wooden mortar (as we beat our Guinea corn) and express the liquor. They make ropes of the bark of this tree. Here is wood in plenty fit for building ; as also some cedar and ebony, but none proper to make ship masts of. The plains are well covered with divers kinds of grass, and of various colours ; which grow much taller than any in England. They never cut any down for hay, for before the old is dead, there is new springing up under it ; but the old grass is commonly set on fire. Here is also some tobacco, which they smoke in reeds, or shells, as they do the jer-maughla.

When I was in deaan Murnanzack's country, I frequently went fishing ; but they have no canoes, as I hinted before, so we only go upon the rocks and fish with hooks and lines, and not with nets. Night is the best time, when it is low water. Then we carry lights with us, and take the fish out of deep little holes (as the negroes say) fast asleep. Here are abundance of lobsters and crawfish, which never run away at sight of the lights. We have also a sharp pike made for no other purpose than to strike fish. Here are eels and the sword-fish, and some such other fish as are common

to countries in the same climate: but many of a species I never saw elsewhere. Here is one fish as round as a turnip, and full of prickles; which, I suppose, may be called the sea hedgehog, but in their language it is called sorer-reake. Here is likewise great plenty of fine turtle.

I never knew the country infested by any beasts of prey, such as tigers, lions, &c., the wild foxes, wild boars, and wild dogs are the worst we have in Antern-droea. Here is a creature of the species and form of the serpent; which is very large. One of which I killed, by tearing its huge jaws asunder with my hands; it was no way venomous, nor did I ever know of a serpent which killed or hurt any man by its venom. Several of them have been bitten by them, and no worse hurt has accrued, than is customary from the bite of any beast.

While I was in Yong-gorvo, our employment as well as diversion was principally hunting wild cattle; and here I observed the people call these cattle, Hattoy's cattle, or Anomebay Rer Hattoy. The tradition they have of their original, is, that they belonged to a great man named Hattoy; and he being very avaricious would kill none of them, but let them multiply and run about wherever they would. He lived in the desert, but his family and people, after his decease, lived with a king of an inland dominion, called Untomaroche, and left most of their cattle behind them. Others say, that Rer Hattoy and most of his people were killed; and that the other cattle being better approved of, his were neglected, and strolling about in the forests, they multiplied without interruption. But this no way accounts for the manner in which they came into the island. This Hattoy, as all allow, was a native; so that I am apt to believe these were the original cattle of the country, and the tame beeves were imported; for there are the same cattle with humps on their backs, on the coast of Natal, and Dilligoe in Africa. These were preferred to the others, and bred up whilst the Hattoy's were neglected. And what confirms me in this notion

is, here are two sorts of people, as if they were two distinct species of mankind; of which I shall have occasion to give a full account in a more proper place.

When deaan Afferrer had kept strict watch over me for about two months, and thought the track of the Feraingher army was impossible to be found, as the grass was grown up again, he took me with him hunting these Hattoy's cattle again. We had very good diversion, had not the conclusion proved tragical; for we killed five cows, and had thoughts of departing: but a bull ran off with a lance in his side, and we, being loth to lose it, pursued him, and stuck two or three more in his belly. When his wounds smarted, he grew enraged and turned upon us. One man more bold than the rest threw another lance, and hit him on the back. Upon which he ran directly at the man; we hallooed to frighten him off, but he pursued his adversary; and when he had overtaken him, he tossed him several yards above his head. The ground where he fell was stony, and we were afraid of throwing lances lest we should hit the man, who was all this time endeavouring to rise; but the bull pushed him down, as often as he made the attempt, and gored him to that degree with his horns, that he soon died. When we perceived the man was past all recovery, we threw more lances at the bull, till he fell down like a log. I have known them fight so long, that they have been absolutely dead before they fell; for they will fix their feet so wide, and die standing so firmly, that we have been obliged to pull them down by the tail. They were forced to dress the meat this evening, because of going home next day with the corpse of their neighbour. When we had roasted the beef, and made an end of our supper, we made up our enters for the next morning. For my part, I packed up as much as I could conveniently carry; for I was determined to go away this very night. I laid down, indeed, when the rest did, but could not sleep much, it may be supposed, for thinking of the hazardous journey I was about to undertake. Every one else slept soundly enough, as they were tired, and their

bellies were full ; so about midnight I took up my burden, and away I marched, directing my course to the northward, not without recommending myself to the good providence of God to be my conductor.

The instructions I received from Ry-Nanno, and which on inquiry I found from others, was to go to the southward, till I came to Vohitch Futey ; and to leave it on my right hand, directing my course between the north and west, till I got to the great river Oneghaloyhe, which goes to St. Augustine's bay ; then to keep along the river till I saw highland running along the westernmost parts of the forest : and then when I had passed over the river, to go away to the westward.

I walked very briskly all night, and at break of day I saw the white mountains very near. By this I perceived I had made a great progress, and therefore would not conceal myself as at first I proposed ; but proceeded on my journey, looking sharply about me, thinking it morally impossible for them to overtake and find me, should they have attempted it. I went, therefore, merrily on, singing Madagascar songs ; for I had forgotten all my English ones. The bellowing of the wild cattle would now and then make me start ; imagining they were my pursuers. When I came to a pleasant brook, I baited there ; and at sunset I looked out for a covert in a thicket to lie in ; but I could not find one near at hand. So I was contented to repose myself in the open plain, pulling up a sufficient quantity of grass for a bed and a pillow, and making a small fire to warm my beef. I did not think proper to make a great one, for fear of its being discerned at a distance ; for in the afternoon I observed some fires to the eastward of the mountain. I was disturbed in my sleep by night-walkers, whom I imagined were my pursuers ; and accordingly I took up my lances in order to defend myself ; but when I was thoroughly awake, I found they were only some of Hattcy's cattle, that snorted at the smell of my fire, and ran away, much more afraid of me than I was of them.

The second day in the morning, I stayed till the sun

appeared before I moved forward, that I might not be deceived in my course; for being abreast of Vohitch Futey, I walked more easily; and though I was under no apprehensions of being overtaken by deaan Afferer's people, yet as there might be others in the forest a hunting of beeves, I was very circumspect. Nothing remarkable happened this day. I looked out early this evening for a lodging, the clouds gathering very black, and soon found a large thick tree, where I made me a fire, warmed me some meat, and hung up the remainder, to keep it as dry as I could; for I had nothing else that could be prejudiced by the rain. At length, it poured down as I expected, in a violent manner, attended with thunder and lightning; it soon penetrated my roof: however, I crowded myself up together, with my head on my knees, my hands betwixt my legs, and my little lamber over my ears. The rain ran down like a flood, but as it was warm I did not so much regard it; in three or four hours it was fair weather again, and I laid me down and took a comfortable nap.

The next morning I dried my beef at a fire, which I made for that purpose, for it was the third day after it was killed; but I was very careful of it, not knowing how to kill more at that time: so I put it up in clean grass and marched forward. The mountains over which I was to pass seemed very high, craggy, and thick with wood, and no path or opening could I find. It looked dismal enough, but I was determined to run all hazards. Those mountains seemed to me to traverse the island, and appeared, as we call it at sea, like double land; one hill behind another. I saw nothing all this day but a few wild cattle, and now and then a wild dog; the weather was fair, and I slept soundly all this night.

The fourth day I walked till noon, at which time I baited; my beef was now but very indifferent. In the afternoon as I was walking I saw about a dozen men before me; upon this I sculked in a bush, peeping to observe whether they had discovered me; but I was soon out of my pain, for they were surrounding some



cattle a good way to the westward on a hill. I was likewise on another hill, so that I could see them throw their lances and kill three beeves, which I was well assured were more than they could carry away with them at once. I stayed where I was, proposing when they were gone to have some beef. To work they fell immediately, cutting up the beasts, and each man making up his burden, hanging the remainder up in a tree that the wild dogs might not get it, and went home to the eastward. As soon as they were gone, and I had looked well about me, I threw away my bad meat, made up to the tree, and took as much as I could well carry. Away I marched with my booty towards the mountains, not daring to rest lest they should return and discover me. In less than an hour I reached the foot of the hills in the thick woods, and finding no path or track of men, or any hopes of any, not knowing what to do, I determined to go through all; but as I happened on a run of water, I took up my quarters near it, made me a fire, cut me some wooden spits, and roasted my beef; I kept my fire burning all night lest the foxes should come and attack me.

The next morning I made up my enter with grass, binding it with the bark of trees, and moved forward up the hill. My burden was now much lighter. In an hour, though I could find no path but what some swine had made, I got to the top of it. I perceived here were faungidge and verlaway enough, with which I was very well pleased, though I did not at present much want them. I climbed a high tree to take a survey, but could discover no entrance: nothing but hills and vales one beyond another; a cragged dismal desert was all that presented itself to my view. I would have descended had I not been in danger of being seen by the hunters; besides I could not tell which way to look, whether east or west, for the passage; so setting a lance up on end, I turned the way it fell, though I imagined it was due north, or rather somewhat to the eastward. However, superstition prevailed where reason was no way concerned, for I was as likely to be right one way

as another ; and in case I went to the northward, so long as I knew it, I must go as often as I could to the westward ; as sailors are forced to do, run their latitude first and their longitude afterwards. I went down this hill and up another, which was about an hour's walk ; but when I came to descend this, it was right up and down. Without due thought I threw down my lances, hatchet, and burden, thinking to descend by a very tall tree, whose top branches reached close to the brow, but I could not do it. However, I made ropes of the bark of a tree, and fixing them to the strongest branches, I slid down, I dare say, no less than thirty feet rather than I would lose my lances and other materials. I passed over a fine spring and run of water in the vale. Though the hill on the other side was a craggy steep rock, I found a way to ascend it ; and on the top climbed another tree to take my view, but had the same dismal prospect. Here I dug faungidge, it being sunset, and seeing a hole in a large rock I had thought to take up my lodging there ; but peeping in, on a sudden I heard such an outcry, which, with the echo in the rock, made so confused a noise, that I knew not what it could be. My fears prevailed, and I imagined it might be pursuers, for it drew nearer and nearer ; so setting my back to a tree, with a lance in each hand, I waited for the murderers ; when instantly came squeaking toward me a herd of wild swine, who ran away more terrified than myself. After I was well recovered from my fright, I made two fires for fear of the foxes, and then laid me down on my stony bed, for here was no grass.

The next morning, which was the sixth day, I made a hearty meal on faungidge and beef, and the hill extending north and south, I went straight on till it declined gradually into a valley, in which was a small river that ran westward ; I am apt to think it was the head of Manner-ronder, where we fought deaan Woozington. By the time I arrived at the top of the next hill, it drew towards evening, for I was not much less than two hours ascending it ; and yet, considering

my burden, though it was not very heavy now, I went a very good pace. As I was looking out for a commodious lodging, that is to say, a place with the fairest stones in it, I uncovered a swarm of bees; this was a joyful sight, for it was food that would not spoil with keeping. I soon cut down a vounturk to secure the honey in, and smoked them out.

I made such a hearty meal this night of honey, faungidge, and beef, that I slept too soundly; insomuch that I was waked with a severe mortification for my thoughtless security. A fox caught hold of my heel, and would have dragged me along; whereupon I startled, and catching up a firebrand gave him such a blow as staggered him; but as soon as he recovered he flew at my face. By this time I was upon my feet and recovered one of my lances, with which I prevented him from ever assaulting me more, but his hideous howling brought more about him. I saw three whose eyes sparkled like diamonds, however they kept at a distance; for with some dry light wood that lay near me I made a blaze directly, in order to keep a flame all night, but did not wake to renew it as I ought to have done: so that both my fires being almost reduced to ashes, one of them boldly ventured between them, and it was very happy for me that he did not seize upon my throat; for when men have negligently slept where they haunt, I have known them meet with such a mischance. After I had made up my fires, and put my enemies to flight, I examined my heel and found two great holes on each side, where his teeth had entered; I bound it up with a piece of my lamber in the best manner I could; and making a great fire, threw the fox upon it by way of resentment. I had not that pleasure in eating my breakfast this morning as I had in my last night's supper; besides, my beef was now a little too tender; however, as I had honey enough for a week and here was faungidge in plenty, I did not concern myself much about it.

I walked on this seventh day; and though I favoured my lame foot as much as I could, yet I rested but once

all day. This way happened to be plain and easy. At evening I came to a place where lay several bodies of trees which were dead and dry. Thinking this, therefore, a proper lodging, I made four very large fires, sat me down to supper, and afterwards ventured to go to sleep with all those fires around me. But my heel now grew so very painful, and was swelled to that degree, that I could not go forward the next day ; but as there was faungidge enough within twenty or thirty yards of me, I dug up several, and determined to continue here till my foot grew better. My beef was soon gone, but faungidge was both meat and drink to me. I saved part of my beef-fat to dress my heel with ; which, as I gave it six days' rest, took down all the swelling. During this time I made such large fires every night, that could they have been seen, were like those of an army. I had not far to go for wood or any thing else that I wanted, or at least that I could any way expect in such a place.

After these six days' rest, it being the fourteenth since I left deaan Afferrer, I went forward, and that day passed over three very high mountains. By this time my honey was all gone, and I could find no more ; so that I lived altogether upon faungidge.

The fifteenth day I walked very smartly again, and passed over several hills that were very rough, craggy, and tiresome. I took particular care however to get dry wood enough, for I never ventured to sleep without four fires.

The sixteenth day I had not travelled above three hours, before I perceived the earth to be of another colour ; it was chalk then, and now clay. This excited my curiosity, to climb the first high tree I could meet with, from whence I discovered an opening to the northward, with which I was highly delighted, but it was too far for me to reach that night, so I took up my lodging as before. This night I was disturbed by a herd of wild swine.

The seventeenth day I walked very hard, being very desirous to get through this wilderness, which still

abounded with hills. About noon I reached the open country, where I could look about me with some pleasure and walk upon level ground. I was now like one just delivered from a prison, having been twelve days in this mountainous desert. I was actually travelling near six days, and I imagine I did not walk less than twenty miles a day; it might have been passed indeed in three days, had I been so fortunate as to have found out the path.

I had not been long in the plain before I came to a little wood, where I took up my lodging, because here was firing and faungidge in plenty, which I was very glad to see, having been under some melancholy apprehensions of wanting provision in the plains; but I had soon a still greater hope of being better supplied, for in the night I was waked by the roaring of a bull, by which I was very well assured it was the great northern forest of wild cattle, which Ry-Nanno had informed me of.

The next day, which was the eighteenth, I saw several herds of Hattoy's cattle; and perceived there were more here than in the southern forest. I looked wishfully about to discover some hunters if I could, or to observe if any crows hovered about any particular place, for then I might reasonably expect some beast that had been wounded was fallen there. In the afternoon I came to a river, which was both deep and large. As I was searching for a proper place to wade through or swim over, I spied a large alligator; I still walked upon the banks, and in a short time saw three more. This was a mortifying stroke and almost dispirited me. I went on till I came to a shallower place, where I entered the river about ten yards, with a view to swim over the rest in four or five minutes, but seeing an alligator make towards me, I ran back directly; he pursued me till I got into very shallow water, and then he turned back into the deep, for they will never attack a man near the shore. It nettled me to be stopped by a river that was scarcely a hundred yards over. A length I recollected that at Bengal

there are the largest alligators in the world, and so bold that they will take a man out of a shallow boat, insomuch that whenever we came off from the shore in the night we made one small fire at the head, and another at the stern of the boat, which no alligator would ever come near. Distress puts a man's invention upon the rack; something, thought I, like this must be done, for it was to no purpose to stay here, neither could I go back; so making choice of a stick for a firebrand, I cut it into long splinters, and waited till it grew dark, then, after I had bound my two firesticks to the top of one of my lances, I went into the water, and recommending myself to the care of Providence, I turned upon my back, and swam over with my two lances and hatchet in one hand, and my firebrand burning in the other; my lamber being twisted and tied fast about my lances.

The place where I pitched upon to swim over had a gap through the thicket on each side one against another, which made it look like a common passage either for men or cattle. No sooner was I landed, than I heard some wild cattle grazing; whereupon I extinguished my fire immediately, and washed myself as silently as possible, that they should not smell me. I stood some time close under the cover of a thick bush in the passage expecting that they would come to drink. The wind, as it luckily fell out, was with them, so that they could not scent me, though they often snorted for that purpose. I stood prepared with my lance, and did not wait long before a numerous herd came running through the passage to the river, and as they passed by, I pushed my lance with all the force I was able into above forty of them, and used my utmost endeavours to wound them in the belly. They ran roaring away, fighting, and goring one another, to revenge as it were the blows they felt, for they expected no other enemies than what were amongst themselves. I thought I had struck a sufficient number, and hoped some of their wounds would prove mortal; however, I would not run any hazard by night, and

therefore sat down contented without roast meat, and secured myself from their attacks in a thick wood. The next morning I went to see what success I had met with, and I found one bull and three cows dead upon the sand ; I soon cut up the youngest and fattest and carried it to my quarters, near which I made an oven to bake it. This is a common practice, though I never described it before ; however it is made after the following manner : a hole is dug about five feet in length, two over, and about three in depth ; this is filled with wood, which is then kindled ; on the top of the fire I put about a dozen large stones, each weighing about a pound. Whilst the fire was burning I cut off the bark from a tree, called the succore, and took the outer part away, and the inner being pliant and lying flat it served for the cover of my oven. When the fire was burnt to ashes, I laid three or four green sticks across, that my beef might rest upon them ; the stones being red-hot, I placed them about the bottom and sides ; I laid likewise more sticks over the top, and then the bark covered all close with the earth. This is our method of baking meat in the forests. I broiled some for my breakfast, and then went out to see what farther execution I had done, and found six more beeves lying dead upon the plain : however I had enough here. When I returned, my beef was as well baked as it would have been at any baker's in London. When it was cold, I made it up into an enter, but went no farther this day.

The next morning I went forward well pleased with my load : though I discovered some smoke to the eastward, yet I saw no people, but many herds of wild cattle ; as there were several little woods in this plain, I never wanted either a covert for a lodging, or grass to make me a tolerably soft bed to lie on. The country was pleasant enough, and travelling was so easy, that I determined if it should be my misfortune to meet with as bad a master as Mevarrow, and there were no hopes of getting to England, that I would run away and live by myself in this forest.



The twenty-first day in the morning I saw several wild dogs engaged with, and pulling down a bull that had been wounded as I imagined some time before, for I never knew the dogs attack them unless they were. It was no business of mine to interrupt them, and if it were, it would have been a very dangerous thing to make the attempt, for though they do not seek to assault a man, yet upon provocation they have been known to destroy several. This night was the first time I ever felt mosquitoes in the island; for, lying in the evening in a covert near a run of water, they stung me to that degree, that I was forced to shift my quarters, and as it was moonlight I got up and walked three or four miles farther to the top of a hill, where I slept without molestation. I had no occasion to light more than one fire, for there was no great danger of wild beasts here.

On the twenty-second day I discovered a fog in one long canal that ran from east to west, which as it continued all the day long, and at a vast distance, I conceived it to hang over the great river Onehagloyhe, that runs into Augustine-bay. This put new life into me, to think I drew near to a seaport; I saw two men that day laden with beef, and would have spoken to them, but they dropped their enters and ran from me, though I called and laid down mine, and went towards them. As soon as they imagined I was gone, I saw them return and take their beef up again.

On the twenty-third day in the morning the fog appeared again, but much nearer. I walked as hard as I well could, being desirous to get to the river: it was afternoon, however, before I reached within a mile of it, and then the bushes and thorny small wood were so thick that it was with great difficulty, and many severe scratches, that I got to the river side. When I saw the river so very broad I was surprised, for at least it was twice as broad as the Thames at London. I had been informed that a man might wade over it near the head, but that they always made use of canoes to transport themselves over other parts, which way they

got them I cannot say, for my own part I had no such help. I made my fire, went to supper, and then reposed myself to rest, or rather to study which way I should get over. In the morning I determined to look out for some old trees or branches that were fallen, and in a short time I met with several that were fit for my purpose, not only great arms but trunks of trees broken off by tempests, these I dragged down to the river-side. In the next place I made it my business to find out a creeper, which is as large as a withy, but twining round trees is very pliant. I lopped the superfluous branches off of six long and thick arms of the trees, and placing three at bottom and three at top, I bound them together, making what we call in the East Indies, a catamaran. I built it afloat in the water, for otherwise I could not have launched it; and moored it to a lance which I stuck in the shore for that purpose; I then fixed my enter in order to preserve it as dry as I possibly could, as also my hatchet and my other lance, after that I made a paddle to row with; then I pulled up my lance and kept it in my hand to defend myself against the alligators, in case any of them should assault me, for I was informed they were very numerous and very fierce here. It blowed a fresh gale at west against the stream, which in the middle made a sea, and gave me no small concern; for I was in great danger of being overset and becoming a prey to the alligators. It pleased God, however, to protect me, and I landed safely on the other shore. This being a pretty good day's work, I determined not to go much farther that evening before I took up my lodging.

On the twenty-fourth day, though I travelled a great way, yet nothing material offered; I saw indeed a few wild cattle, but not near the number that was on the other side of the river, and those too were somewhat shyer, by which I concluded it to be an inhabited country.

On the twenty-fifth day my burden grew lighter and began to smell, but I did not concern myself much

about that, since I resolved to speak to the first people I could see; for I remembered, that deaan Trongha had told me that his town lay by the north side of this river. I forded over a brook which runs into the great river. The country is very pleasant, and here are abundance of palmettoe trees, which they call satterfutey. They bear a long leaf like a cocoa-nut tree, but the fruit is quite of another nature: of these leaves the people make baskets, caps, &c. I saw no wild cattle all this day.

On the twenty-sixth day, though I walked very hard again, yet I baited in the heat of the day, and in the afternoon, making the best of my way, I espied a smoke; and being determined to speak to those who made it I mended my pace, lest they should be passengers only that baited as I did, and would be gone; but I soon heard the tongues of several children, who ran into the woods as soon as they saw me. Upon which, immediately three men, armed with guns and lances, started out. I looked behind me for a commodious shelter, not knowing what to think of them, and retreated a little; which they perceiving, left their guns behind them, and came towards me. Upon that I went to meet them, and, at a distance, desired to know what king they belonged to. They answered deaan Mernaugha, and as a farther testimony, perceiving that I was a white man, they spoke two or three words in broken English; and after that we shook hands, and saluted each other with the usual compliment, salamonger. They invited me to go with them to their habitations, where we sat down, and I gave them a short detail of my travels. They said they had heard of me, and having some susers in the pot just boiled, they desired me to eat with them. After which, I asked them several questions relating to their trade, their war, and peace; and one of the most experienced of them gave me the following melancholy account of it.

Our late king, Rer Vovvern, said he, killed himself with grief at an irruption which Rer Trimmenongarevo

made with nine thousand men, and took his two daughters captives. Our prince pursued him with seven thousand, but the enemy, by a stratagem, got privately into Ferangher, and plundered it; deaan Woozington at the same time attacked the southern parts, having made canoes and passed the great river; the other passages being first stopped. He took also a great many people, but deaan Trongha, and his brother Rer Befaugher, who stayed at home with two thousand men, disconcerted his measures and prevented his carrying off the captives; which so enraged Woozington, who was a man of a barbarous disposition, that he slew a great many women and children. Rer Trimmenongarevo took a contrary method, for he sent messengers with friendly invitations to the people to come and live in his country and be his subjects, and with repeated assurances, that he would restore to them their wives and children; which promise he punctually performed, and still continues so to do; so that some hundreds are gone away: and he still so embarrasses us, who are unwilling to leave our native country, that many of us are obliged to fly into these forests and secret recesses in order to be safe, contenting ourselves, as you see, with what the country naturally affords us; for we dare neither plant nor keep cattle, lest we should be surprised. We have another petty prince in the mountains, who takes this opportunity to make incursions, and helps to impoverish us, so that we have enemies all around us; and those who remain in towns are almost famished. For we have no friends but white men, and there has not been a ship come this way a long time; and should they be apprized of our poverty they would come no more. Thus this kingdom, which was lately the glory of the island, is now almost reduced to nothing.

This melancholy tale so shocked me, that I sat mute and as fixed as a statue, till the man perceiving my concern, roused me by asking me my name; and if I had not thoughts of going to the king before I went to deaan Trongha, as, they said, was my duty; but I told

them I was a freeman, and would act as I had already told them ; so they gave me a mat, and I lay down ruminating on the hard fortune that attended me ; but as Providence had taken care of me hitherto, I did not question but in due time my deliverance would be accomplished ; and with this resignation I laid me down to rest.

These men were very courteous to me, and pressed me to stay two or three days with them ; but I only breakfasted there, giving them some of my beef, which they accepted, though it was far from being good. When they found I was determined to go, they made me a present of a parcel of roasted susers to carry with me, and accompanied me as far as the path, and showed me how to find these susers, which till then I had never seen ; they grow like wild yams, which were their principal diet. This was the twenty-seventh day of my travels, and turning out of the path into the wood, I hunted about for such an inn as had served me many a night before ; which I soon found, made a fire, and after supper slept very contentedly.

The next morning I met with four men, who informed me, that though I could not reach deaan Trongha's town, yet I might Rer Befaugher's, and he would send a man to direct me. My way lay over a high hill, from whence I saw the sea, and the road where the ships used to lie in Augustine-bay ; on the other hand was the great river, and the country very pleasant along its banks. When I came to the bottom, some boys who were tending their cattle ran up to me, for they are not afraid of white men, and one of them very courteously offered to show me the way to the town.

On my arrival, the people stared to see a white man without clothes ; some said, a ship was arrived ; but most said, I could not come from a ship naked, and without a hat. When I came near Rer Befaugher's house, I perceived he looked earnestly at me, not knowing me at first ; but, when I came nearer, he arose from his seat, clapped his hand to his mouth and

cried, " Ah! Ry-Robin, how came you here ?" Had I been his brother, he could not have embraced me with more affection. As soon as I was seated, several came about me ; some who knew me in the army asked me, who were with me ? And when I answered, nobody, they wondered how I could find the way by myself ; but when I informed them how I lost my way, and came through the mountainous wilderness, and what stratagems I made use of to pass the rivers, they were perfectly astonished.

Rer Befaugher took me into his house, and made me sup with him ; he had roast beef, and his wife brought milk on purpose for me. I asked about the state of the country, and he gave much the same account I had heard before ; with this addition, that he expected every day that Rer Trimmenongarevo would come, and ravage the whole country, for they were altogether incapable of making any resistance ; those, however, who were the pillars of the land, were determined to stand till they were cut down by death, and not to fly. For indeed, said he, we have nowhere to go but into the sea, and we have no notion of living there as you white men have.

When we had supped, and talked till I was sleepy, he sent a man with me to a house prepared for my reception. The next morning I begged the favour of him to send a man to direct me in the right road to deaan Trongha's ; but he would go himself. I told him that it was too great a condescension, and too much beneath his dignity, to attend a slave as I was. He answered, that he never looked on white men as slaves, and that he had waited on several. And Rer Vovvern, as well as he, had clothed and maintained some who did not deserve it, but they did it for the sake of others ; for, says he, here have been some very quarrelsome people who come ashore, and never go aboard again, and behave themselves shamefully ill. I asked him what they trafficked for here. He said, for nothing but provision, for which they gave them gold and silver in exchange, and sometimes pieces of

silk, and when they sail away, no one, nay, they themselves don't know to what country they are going: for they are wicked, careless wretches, and their whole business is to plunder other ships. I told him, they were to blame either to assist them, or sell them any provisions; and that the government of England was at a prodigious expense to fit out ships on purpose to destroy them, for they spoil the merchants' trade, and were a disgrace to their country. The English, for the generality, said he, were very good people, and by the trade which they drove with them, were of singular service to their country. That he had been on board divers ships, and had met with several captains, who were very honest men, for they used to receive him in the most courteous manner, and entertain him with wine, punch, and brandy; and sometimes another sort of liquor that was very bitter, what the name of it was he could not tell, but they loved it themselves. I told him it was beer. He said, yes; but he could never drink it with any pleasure. Thus we went chatting along to deaan Trongha's, which was about two hours' walk. When we arrived the people flocked round me, some saying a samb-tuley; that is to say, a ship was arrived, but others said no, for men seldom come naked from a ship.

When I came before deaan Trongha, I perceived he did not recollect me, I offered to kneel and lick his feet, but he would not permit; saying, be he who he may, he is a white man, and they shall never lick black men's feet. At length, his brother informed him who I was: no sooner had he heard it than he rose up, and embraced me with abundance of joy and friendship. When we had been seated some time, and I had given them an account of my travels, he told me, I was still a very unfortunate man; for they were in a very poor state and condition, and I should be miserably mistaken, if I expected to live happy there. I told him, it could not well be worse than it had been with me all along. and I was determined to live with him all my life long, if he pleased to admit me into his service,



unless he would be so indulgent to me as to send me home when a ship came. He told me, I should fare as he did himself; for he looked on it as his duty to relieve a white man in distress, for the favours he and his family had received from my countrymen. In short, he received me with such tokens of friendship, and treated me with so much tenderness, that my own father could not have shown me more compassion. He lamented very much the deplorable circumstances to which his country was reduced, and was extremely afraid lest the white men should know it; for then, said he, they would never come to trade with us any more, nor give me an opportunity of sending you to your native home.

When I had eaten and drunk with him, he took his leave of his brother, being obliged to guard the slaves who were at work in the plantations, lest they should be surprised and taken by small parties of their northern enemy, who lay in ambuscade, in order to sally out, and carry off what they could steal on a sudden, and so run away again. When we were a little way out of town, we came to a spacious thicket of wild canes, reeds, and rushes; in the midst of which were the plantations, bounded on the other side with the great river Oneghaloyhe. Here were plantains, bonanoes, sugar-canes, and rice, with all these the southern country from whence I came were wholly unacquainted; but here were likewise several things which I had seen before, as anbotty, anchoroko, &c. These were but lately planted and sowed; the enemy having destroyed all the plantations in the incursions they made, whilst deaan Trongha, &c. were in the late war in Merfaughla. I began to suspect that he intended to set me to work, but I soon perceived he had no such design; for he gave me his gun, and told me since I was willing to be his servant, all he should require of me should be to carry his gun, and never to be the length of it from him, that in case of a surprise he might have it at hand.

As we went homewards, some of our people climbed up tamarind trees, and gathered abundance of the

fruit. I asked them what they did with it. Eat it said they. I told them, it was impossible to eat much of it, without setting their teeth on edge. It is sour enough, indeed, said they, if we do not put ashes to it to make it sweet. I laughed at them for their ignorance, but when I came home there were platters full mixed with them for our supper. The strings of the tamarinds, which are white, appearing in it when thus mixed, I could not forbear comparing it to mortar with hair in it; but when I tasted it, I found it was sweet beyond my expectations. I could not, however, be rightly reconciled to it at first, being prejudiced as men too frequently are, even against the testimony of their senses. Deaan Trongha perceiving that I did not much like my mess, assured me that this was always esteemed amongst them a pleasant dish, when they had the greatest profusion of other things. Sometimes, indeed, said he, we have nothing else to eat. I have seen many odd things eaten, but nothing ever surprised me more than sour tamarinds mixed with wood ashes, becoming sweet and palatable. Let the chemists reason and philosophize upon it at their leisure, I can assure them it is matter of fact; and can produce several gentlemen now living in London, to testify the same who have seen me mix it. It did not rightly agree with me, indeed, the first time I eat it; but after I was used to it a little, I never found any inconvenience attend it afterwards.

Deaan Trongha had two wives, who lived in separate apartments. He divided himself pretty equally between them, living nearly as much at one house as at the other, in order to prevent any jealousies on either side, and to keep up a harmony between them. Now it is customary for them to appoint every slave his proper mistress, to whose commands he is peculiarly to attend; and it is her business to see what they want, and give it them. He did not, however, appoint me any such service; but said, that as I was a person in distress, and my lot by Providence was cast amongst them, it was their duty to provide for all such; but as for me,

he had a more particular regard for my misfortunes, for the sake of my fathers and brothers, (meaning Englishmen;) and for that reason, he had ordered that I should be taken care of at both their houses, and had free liberty to go to either of them at my pleasure, where I found the best entertainment; and, indeed, as long as there was meat, I had my proportionable share with them. Though he behaved himself with decency enough to both of them, yet I observed the first wife was a greater favourite than the other, upon which account, she was distinguished by the title of his head wife. He was at her apartment when I came first, and when these directions were given; so she immediately furnished me with a pot or two, and calabash, &c. for my use; but as she had not every thing I wanted, he sent a servant with me to the other, and she as cheerfully supplied me with what my occasion required, chiding me in a friendly manner for not coming sooner to pay her a visit: so I sat down and had half an hour's conversation with her; and to do them both justice, their behaviour towards me was perfectly courteous and engaging.

The next morning two messengers came from deaan Mernaugh; deaan Trongha being desired to go and consult with the king on some affairs of importance. When they were taking their leave, he would not let them depart till he had killed a heifer to entertain them with, notwithstanding provision was so very scarce; and here I found the same generous manner of treating one another as was practised in Anterndroea, for most of the people in town came about the house, and no one went away without some portion of beef. As to their cookery, they have but a slovenly manner of dressing their meat here, for the liver, as soon as it was extracted, was thrown directly into the fire and broiled in smoke and ashes, and the entrails were broiled likewise with but very little cleaning. I had a piece of beef given me to dress at home, and we all lived well as long as this lasted. When I went the next morning, the deaan was dressing himself in order to go; for

though he had no clothes to put on, yet some time was spent in curling his hair and platting it into knots. After he was shaved, the owley was brought out and dressed to be carried before him, for he went in state. The friendship between deaan Mernaugh and him not being over hearty or sincere, made him go in more form than otherwise he would have done. I carried his gun after him. We marched up an easy ascent of nearly two miles, when I perceived we were near the sea; the descent on the other side extended to the shore of St. Augustine-bay, where there were ships generally at anchor. Here deaan Trongha showed me the spot of ground on which the English built their houses during their residence in these parts. It was an agreeable prospect to me, though at that time there were no ships. I saw some canoes a considerable way out at sea; some men I could perceive were striking and darting fish, and others in the water, as high as their knees, at the same diversion; for the sand is almost flat, so that one may walk at low water above a mile into the sea. The seacoast lay almost north and south, but from whence I came, it lay east and west. After we had passed through a wood, on a point of land, we came among the towns which belonged to deaan Mernaugh. Every body stared to see a white man naked, and at first took me for the Dutchman who had lived amongst them, and who would have sometimes very odd freaks; but my fame flew before me, and when I came to deaan Mernaugh's, I was very well known; for after the usual compliments were over, he asked "where was the white man who came from Antern-droea;" I not being in sight, having delivered my gun to my master. Whereupon I was called, and seated amongst them. The king asked me about my travels, and the adventures I had met with; and I very readily gratified him with my whole story at large. A bullock was given to deaan Trongha, for the entertainment of himself and his retinue.

At night there was a long consultation about the posture of affairs: none were admitted to this august

assembly, but a few principal men, among whom I had the honour to be one ; but to my no small mortification, I heard deaan Mernaugha propose to send nine hundred, or a thousand people, under the command of deaan Trongha into Merfaughla, to join with deaan Crindo against deaan Woozington. This scheme was approved of, and unanimously agreed to ; the manner and time were both appointed, which was not to be till some months after. When we broke up, deaan Trongha told me the whole assembly had confidence in me ; as knowing it to be my interest to keep their secrets. But, says he, a more than ordinary care is absolutely necessary at this juncture ; for the common people abandon us to live under other lords, if our proceedings do not please them ; though we aim at nothing but their own security and welfare. They have not, however, the sense to know it, and will be for ever throwing reflections on our conduct, and finding fault, though we lose our wives, families, and cattle, and run all hazards to protect them. It is natural for the refuse of the people to abuse their superiors ; but yet governors ought nevertheless to study the good of their country, and defend those under their care from injuries and insults, without regarding such reflections ; but then those things which we very well know beforehand, and they have not the sense to understand or judge of, ought never to be divulged.

I assured him of my fidelity, but told him that what I heard gave me no small uneasiness, since I was apprehensive that he would press me to go with him ; where my former master, Mevarrow, would very probably be, whose barbarous treatment I had too much experience of, not to dread the consequence of being again in his power. He replied, that could never be ; for they know (said he) that I am resolute, and that it would be dangerous for any man to provoke me so far, since it might prove the ruin of the whole army ; for I am determined to protect you at the hazard of my own life, and revenge with the utmost severity any affront that shall be offered to you. I was not perfectly satis-

fied, but as I knew him to be a man of strict honour, I had all the reason imaginable to depend upon it. When I returned to my companions, they used their utmost endeavours to sift out of me the purport of their council; but I told them with a very careless air, that I stood at a distance, and did not observe one word that passed.

Deaan Trongha took his leave the next morning, acquainting the king, his nephew, that his owley had warned him in the night of some danger that attended his town from the enemy, in case he stayed much longer. As I was on this side the country, I desired to go and see Eglise the Dutchman. The deaan assured me he would make it in his way home. Eglise was very much surprised when the children came running to him, and cried, "Arve verzahar!" that is, a white man is coming; for he knew of no one in the country. One Efflep a negro of the West Indies, who was left ashore by pirates many years before, lived not far from him, and spoke nothing but English; for being very deaf, he never learned the Madagascar language. He had two sons, however, born on the island of a native mother, who spoke both languages tolerably well. When I approached Eglise, he pulled off his hat to me; but poor Robin was not in a condition to return the compliment. At first he spoke Dutch to me, but perceiving I did not understand him, he spoke a little broken English; and I had as little to say for myself in that, as the other. Thereupon I asked for an interpreter to speak English for me; which set deaan Trongha and the rest a laughing at first; but they pitied my hard lot afterwards, to have lived in a foreign country all the flower of my age. But James, Efflep's eldest son, carried on a conversation amongst us to the entire satisfaction of every one then present. Eglise pressed me to live constantly with him; but I told him I would not leave deaan Trongha on any account whatever. For he was a man of great generosity and humanity; one, moreover, of great authority, and consequently able to protect me. I desired, however, that they would pro-

cure leave of him, to let me stay two or three days with them, which they did ; and he as readily agreed to indulge me a whole week. I had heard but an indifferent character of Eglasse, with respect to his temper ; he was rash and passionate, and would threaten the great men, not excepting the king himself, upon the slightest provocation, with what he would do as soon as the first ship arrived. This ill conduct of his rendered him distasteful to them ; and for that reason I was cautious how I entered into too strict an amity with him. And it will soon appear, that my fears were justly grounded ; for his continued indecent behaviour cost him his life at last.

Having now taken our farewell of deaan Trongha and his retinue, the pot was set on the fire by a slave named Toby, with a piece of salt beef, and potatoes dressed after the English manner. In the mean time, Eglasse ordered James to relate to me the history of his arrival and adventures here ; and this conducing to my purpose, which is to give such an account of the various customs and manners of this island as may be useful to traders and navigators, and pleasing to the curious, I shall only transcribe here what he then told us.

“ At a place called Masseelege,” said he, “ on this island to the northward, there comes once a year a Moorish ship that brings silk-lambers, and many other things to trade with for slaves. At this place one Burgess, called captain Burgess, and Robert Arnold had a sloop ; Burgess, indeed, commanded, for Arnold knew nothing of navigation ; one was as rich as the other, and both were equally concerned in the vessel. With this sloop they used to come to Augustine-bay and other places on the island, in order to buy slaves and carry them to Masseelege against the moor’s ship arrived. Eglasse sailed with them in this sloop. In one of their voyages to this place, Burgess and Arnold fell out to that degree, that the latter would stay no longer with Burgess ; but prevailing on Eglasse to come on shore for his companion, he brought all his effects with



him, consisting of several bags of dollars, a great many guns, powder, shot, chests of clothes, beads, &c. amounting in the whole to a considerable value. In a word, every thing that is proper to trade with in these parts. He told Eglasse that in case he survived him he should have all his effects; but their design was only to stay till a ship arrived in which they could procure a passage to Europe. Whether they durst go to England or not I cannot absolutely say; though I had good reason to suspect that a great part of these riches were obtained by piracy. There were two black slaves, this Toby and another, who in the sequel of this story will be called Robin, who could speak good English. These swam ashore the same night that captain Burgess sailed away, and surrendered themselves to Arnold.

“It happened a little before Rer Vovvern’s death, (and which was, indeed, the occasion of it,) that this country was invaded by two enemies at the same time; and whilst the greater part of the lords and people were marched off in order to oppose the northern enemy, Woozington, who was a southern foe, came unawares upon us, having passed the great river without being in the least suspected, and a bold general of his, named Ry-Opheck, attacked the town and the king’s house about midnight; Rer Vovvern himself was wounded in the thigh. Another party was likewise coming against us, whereupon every one was for flying to some shelter or other; as is not only customary, but indeed necessary in such cases. Arnold and Eglasse, however, having great riches, were resolved to defend them, and therefore armed themselves with guns, pistols, and cutlasses; but they no sooner appeared at their door than Arnold was shot dead on the spot. Eglasse was then glad to fly with his two slaves, Robin and Toby, for they never left him. The enemy plundered the house of what they saw convenient; which was all his wearing apparel, or any thing like it, even his beds for the ticking sake; the silver being black they knew not what it was, and therefore contented themselves with throwing it about. As to the cattle which they found in the

pens they killed them all, for they had neither time nor strength enough to carry them off; nor were they able to defend themselves when once the country should make head against them. However, they took some captives and marched off in as great a hurry as they came, lest deaan Mundrosser, our present king's brother, who is very well beloved by his countrymen, and feared by his enemies, should fall upon them; for we have not a greater man in war than he, deaan Trongha only excepted. Ry-Opheck's fears and haste were just and proper; for deaan Mundrosser mustered an army in a few hours after, and overtook them before they could pass the river. The sound of his shells added wings to their flight, insomuch that they left their captives behind them; and he brought most of our women and children again, so that our loss was inconsiderable: for as to our valuable goods, we (who were apprehensive of surprise, and well knew the manner of the country) had dug holes in the ground and buried them there, and they had no time to search after them. When my father Efflep, my brother, and I returned, we missed none of our effects, but very much concerned and surprised to find Arnold not only dead, but naked; but as to his dollars they lay neglected and scattered up and down; till some of our people, who were no strangers to their use and value, took up a great many and concealed them from Eglasse. We threatened some of them, however, and made them refund, complaining to deaan Mernaugh; but they were above half lost. Eglasse was so confounded, that he never returned till some messengers, who were sent out after him, met with him at last, and conducted him and his two slaves home. He lives handsomely enough still, though he lost so much, having a plantation of his own and three or four good milch cows; and he is able to join with my father to buy an ox notwithstanding it is a very dear time, a good one being worth now ten dollars. Our king, Rer Vovvern, died in six weeks after, more with grief than of his wounds. He was very well-beloved, being a good man and a gallant warrior; he was also

a great friend to white men, but more especially to the English. I must not forget, however, to tell you here is another family you must be acquainted with too, and that is one Hampshire, a Guinea negro, who was formerly among the pirates, but has been settled here some considerable time. He has a very pretty woman to his wife, and also a daughter by her. Though the man is both blind and poor, yet Eglasse makes him many presents out of respect to his wife, as we imagine, for they are very intimate."

Here Eglasse interrupted James, on hearing his own name and Mrs Hampshire's too often, as he thought, mentioned together, and suspected that James was telling me of their supposed amour; so he broke off the discourse; though James said he was only expatiating on the christian-like manner in which he behaved to Hampshire and his family; but by this time dinner was ready. I found myself here a perfect negro in my way of eating, for I devoured my meat alone which made them laugh heartily; but what was a still greater mortification to me was, Hampshire, his wife and child came to pay me a visit; and Eglasse and he talked my adventures over in English, and it seemed like unintelligible jargon which I could not form my tongue to imitate; insomuch that I was apprehensive that I should never be able to speak my mother-tongue again. A few days' conversation however among these people, gave me hopes of recollecting it in time. Efflep and his sons were near neighbours to Eglasse, where I was invited the next day, and entertained in a very handsome manner after the English fashion, and much better than at Eglasse's. We had not only a couple of capons boiled with rice, like a pilaw, but another dish of fried meat and boiled potatoes, served up on pewter plates, so that I began to fancy myself in a christian country. They also procured some toake for me, as Eglasse had done before; but it was scarce, there being no honey to be got. This was made of sugar-canes, which were likewise scarce at this time, and the toake was much inferior to what we had to the southward; it

was strong enough however to make us a little gay and lively.

As soon as the week was expired I was determined to stay no longer, notwithstanding they importuned me very much, assuring them I would procure leave to come again in a short time: nor would I accept of a guide, since I knew the way. When I came to the sea-side I espied a sail as I thought, though it proved nothing but a large canoe returning from sea, where the men had been fishing. I waited till they reached the shore, who seeing me white, though naked, came up to me, and a great deal of conversation passed between us, they being very inquisitive after my uncommon adventures. I gave them all the satisfaction I could, and inquired if there were any likelihood of a ship's arrival. Before I took my leave they made me a present of as many fish as I could well carry with me. When I came home to my own house, I picked out four of the best, and went to wait on my mistresses, presenting them with two a piece. Deaan Trongha coming home soon after, was surprised to find fish there, and highly pleased that I was returned; but was so complaisant as not to suffer me to lick his feet. He had been all day in the plantations, pushing the work as forward as he could, that they might not want for provisions when they came back from the wars; for every body was busy and making preparations for it. He told me he had ordered one of his wives to make me a cap; such as we usually wore by way of distinction. I did not like the proposal, but there was no opposing it. He gave out to his wives and people that their intention was to invade deaan Morrochemek, a petty king in the adjacent mountains; this he did, for fear some of his people should desert and alarm the country of Merfaughla.

Upon my return home I found visitors in abundance, who flocked about me for the sake of my fish; but as it was a customary thing, and what I used to do myself, I could not take it amiss; so I shared them out as far as they would go.

I slept but this one night in peace and quietness; for

next morning I was called up to attend the deaan, and carry his gun with me to the plantation. At that time he had no project of great importance in his head, but before noon a messenger came running in haste with the news, that an army of ten thousand Saccalauvors (our northern enemies) were at a town called Murnumbo, within ten or twelve hours' march of us. Deaan Trongha was too impatient to hear the whole story, before he ordered his slaves to leave their work and go home; the hoes and spades were thrown aside, and the lances taken in hand, every man running home and making preparation for a march. Messengers were sent to Rer Befaugher, and all the other neighbouring lords to give their friendly assistance. Some of the principal men of each town were directed to stay at home, with a sufficient force to defend their families and cattle, in case Woozington should be at hand as he was before, in order to take the towns by surprise, while the fighting men were all engaged another way. I went home under the plausible view of whetting my lances, but with a resolution of being out of sight, and, if possible, forgotten; which succeeded to my wish, for they were soon on their march. When I was well assured that they were gone, I went in a violent hurry to the head lady's house, asking for my master; and being informed he was gone, I pretended to be in a confusion, and in all the haste imaginable to follow him; but the women would not let me go; for they ordered the men, who were left as a guard, to stop me. At length, with much ado it may be supposed, I was prevailed on to stay, and sat down very contentedly amongst the women. Most of the town, nay, the very children were there; or round about the house. Their clamour, prayers, and cries for their husbands, and idle tattle about the war, were troublesome enough; but not so bad as running the risk of either life or limb, in fighting the quarrel of a people, for whom I had no manner of concern.

At night I had several young female visiters, who supped with me on carravances, of which my mistress

had made me a present. Our conversation was innocent and pleasant, though some of my gay readers may perhaps imagine otherwise. But be that as it may I can assure them (to the shame of christianity) there are more modest women in proportion to the number of people here than in England; even such as would sooner part with their lives than yield to a man's embraces, unless they were taken to wife according to the custom of the country; but such women as sailors find for their turn, are only slaves brought down to the sea-side and dressed with beads and silk lambers, with no other view than to allure their gallants and get from them what they can, and though the gain they make of their prostitution is their master's, yet most of them are generous enough to present them with part of the fine things they get from their cullies; but were these sailors to go up into the country, they would not find it an easy matter to procure a mistress. The conversation, however, I had with my young visiters, gave me some melancholy reflections in bringing to my remembrance the pleasure I formerly enjoyed in the company of my dear wife, whose beauty and conversation were in my opinion far superior to any of these.

During the men's absence, we had little else to live on than tamarinds and ashes, a little milk only excepted; but in twelve days they returned, and were received with all the demonstrations of joy imaginable by the women. I went myself likewise with a good assurance to welcome them home. Deaan Trongha, indeed, rallied me a little about it; but his wife ingenuously confessing, that she hindered me from following him, I heard no more of it.

The account they gave of their expedition was, that a general belonging to Rer Trimmonongarevo's army was at the place, but the messenger's fear augmented it to nearly double the number of men that in reality was in it, for there were not five thousand in all. Our people were so expeditious, that they secured a narrow pass, which the enemy designed to have taken; and

after a small skirmish or two, Rer Mimebolambo withdrew to a plain and encamped, to whom Rer Mundrosser sent a messenger to demand the reason why he (more especially) marched an army into a country to destroy it, since his late king Rer Vovvern, had relieved and protected him, when he fled from his uncle Rer Trimmonongarevo, at his father's decease; for Rer Mimebolambo's father was king of Morandavo, and this son of his was to have been his successor; but there was a dispute between his uncle and him, several years, till Rer Vovvern, at last, brought about a reconciliation between them. Rer Mimebolambo replied in a few words, that those matters were made up, that his uncle was king and he was under his command, and therefore could not help it. We understood afterwards that deaan Woozington had appointed to meet him and failed, however he was unwilling to return home without doing somewhat, and attempted, for that reason, to make an incursion and carry off a booty of slaves and cattle, but was prevented. Our army followed them at a distance, to conduct them safely into their own country, and then returned home.

But that part of the news, which was most agreeable to me, was that deaan Mernaughla and they had agreed to defer for this season their intended expedition with deaan Crindo against Merfaughla, for I always dreaded the thoughts of going into Anterndroea, not only lest a ship should arrive whilst I should be absent, which would be six or seven months, but for fear of seeing my old master deaan Mevarrow; but these fears, however, being dissipated for the present, I lent a helping hand with a good will enough, in the fortification of the town, with such stones as were here in great plenty. No one was exempted from work, the women and children assisted according to their strength, and we made a wall round the town, at least a yard thick and three yards high, with loop-holes to look through, or fire out at, as occasion offered. As we had no mortar the stones were only laid one upon another, and yet we were about two months before we finished it.



Some of our principal men soon after procured leave to go into the country to get honey, and hunt such wild cattle as they could find, of which there were many on this side the river Oneghaloyhe. We looked on ourselves to be perfectly safe at this time, it being between November and April, when the river was swelled very large and there were no canoes except here and there one, but it was impassable for an army. With my master's consent I accompanied them; we walked half a day very briskly before we came to a proper place to bait at, and where we could find ove (that is wild yams) or susers, which we found here in plenty; but we had still a hard day's journey to go to the place proposed for our country habitation, and when we came there we had our house to build. After our first arrival, which was in the evening, we took care to get a good supper; two of us, who well knew the place, went to look out for honey among the rocks, in the fissures or openings whereof bees make their combs; the other two (for we were four in all) dug ove and susers. Our companions succeeded and brought some honey, and we regaled ourselves in an elegant manner. The next day by noon we finished our house, which we thatched with palmetto leaves. The day following we employed ourselves in getting some araffer, which is a pleasant liquor that I had not tasted before; the tree from whence it flows is something like a cocoa-nut tree but not quite so large, and rather a kind of palmetto, called in their language satter. The long leaves or branches are burnt off, and the trunk is left bare; then we cut off part of the top of the tree, and with our lances or hatchets make a hole in the middle, which in a short time fills with a liquid which issues as from a spring. This may be sucked out with a reed till it is dry, yet it will fill again the same day, and so continue for six or seven days before the juice is totally exhausted. It is not like a sirup, but very sweet and pleasant, and I never knew it give any one the flux, as some may imagine, nor did any one of us meet with the least inconvenience from drinking it. We

wanted, however, some roast meat ; so roving about the next day, we espied a herd of about twenty of Hattoy's cattle, and with a little difficulty made ourselves masters of a bull.' Now we lived luxuriously ; we made drinking cups of the bull's horns ; for by thrusting them into the fire, and giving them a knock or two, the pith came all out, and we were as well contented as some folks with fine glasses. It is indeed surprising, though delightful, to see how plentifully Providence has furnished this country with every thing, not only with all the necessaries of life, but even with a delicious variety. If ever any country flowed with milk and honey it is this ; and with so much ease are they to be had, that as the natives have no knowledge of the curse of Adam and his posterity, so one would be tempted to think, as well for this reason as from their colour, that they are not of his race, or that the curse ever reached them, for they can get their living without the sweat of their brows, or the least hard labour. Notwithstanding all this, the follies and passions of men will too often lead them into misery, though they have happiness in their power ; in this fine country their frequent quarrels with one another and open wars reduce them to the greatest necessity in the midst of the greatest plenty. But they are confined sometimes by so powerful an enemy, that they are afraid to stir out of their houses to fetch what the land naturally produces ; and this was the then hard fortune of Feraingher, and the substance of our conversation after supper ; my companions having entertained me with an account of the great power and strength of their country but a little before, in the days of Rer Vovvern ; and how deplorable its case was at present, how they were obliged to confine themselves and get close together, that they might be ready at a call to repulse an enemy, and by that means abandon the finest and most plentiful part of the country.

We lived now, however, very happily, and in affluence, during our continuance at our country-house ; we made just such an oven as I have before described, and

baked our beef in it ; then we went in quest of some honey to carry home with us. In which, as I was better acquainted with the nature of bees than they, I had better fortune, and got as much as I could carry off. When our beef grew so far touched that we could not eat it, we looked out for more ; it was my good fortune in particular to meet with a young heifer, which I drove into a thicket, and having killed her, I hallooed to my companions. This we agreed to dress, and carry as much of it home as conveniently we could ; in the first place, however, we baked the marrow bones, boiled the liver, and spread the marrow on it, as a dainty morsel ; and then we made up our enters, and marched homewards as well satisfied as we were heavily laden, but not being in haste, we travelled very softly.

We would not enter the town till midnight, lest we might be observed ; and now once more I wished for my wife to have been at home to receive me. The next morning I waited on the chief lady with a horn of honey and a piece of beef, who was highly delighted, but thought I had brought too much ; from her I went to the other where deaan Trongha was, and paid my compliments to her. The deaan was very glad to see me eat a plentiful breakfast, and was extremely pleased to hear me tell the various circumstances of our sport ; the others by this time, according to custom, were come to present their lord with some part of what they had got, by way of acknowledgment. As I was going home one met me who wanted to buy some honey, it being rumoured about, that I had brought home a large cargo ; he gave me a fine silk lamber for a calabash of honey that contained about two gallons. I thought myself very fine in it, and sure I am, I was the first of the family who was ever dressed so much like a Madagascar lord. Deaan Trongha told me, I had bought it cheaply enough in conscience ; for if honey had not been scarce it was worth four times as much ; silk is very plentiful in this country, if they would take the pains to gather it.

Here, through ignorance, I committed an egregious

error, for as deaan Trongha was saying, the man bought the honey dear. I answered a little too smartly. "If this war continue but three or four years longer, a man will be glad to sell a child for such a calabash of honey." The prince took me up with some warmth, and said, "Then I presume you will leave us, and go to some inland prince for a belly full of victuals." I assured him, however, that I would stay with him till he could send me home in some ship or another; and that no other motive should ever part us. Though he said no more, I found he was uneasy, and could not find out the reason till after we returned from the plantation, at which time, as we were walking homewards alone, "Robin," says he, "you are not aware, perhaps, that our people imagine you can conjure; and as you know the torratos, that is, writing and reading, you can foretell things to come. Now by your talking of worse times in our country than the present before these illiterate people, they will take it for granted that it will certainly be so, and you will so discourage them, that they will all run away; for they would pay as superstitious a regard to you as to an umossee, if you thought it proper to act such a part; since necessity (for the reason I have told you) seems to require it at this juncture." I replied that, though I was conscious of my error, yet I could never think they would take me for a conjuror, or one who knew things before they happened; for if I had been possessed of that talent, I would never have taken this last unfortunate voyage, in which I was cast ashore on this island. "What you say is true," says he; "but these people are too ignorant to be instructed, and it is not in your power or mine to convince them: and to make the attempt is but to give them an ill opinion of us; they must be indulged in their superstitious notions, be humoured, and talked to like peevish sickly children. As this is the case" said I, "I beg pardon, and faithfully promise you to be very careful of my words, lest they should prove any means of discouragement to them for the future."

In three or four days at most, our fine provision was

gone ; for I distributed what I had, as is customary, among our neighbours ; and then we had little else but tamarinds and ashes. About three weeks after, Eglasse and his man Toby came to pay me a visit, and brought some beef and potatoes with them ; for they knew our poverty. We had an odd sort of conversation between Eglasse's broken Madagascar, and my broken English ; but Toby, who spoke both languages, helped us out. He stayed with me all night, and went the next day to deaan Trongha, and begged for me to live with him five or six weeks, which was readily granted ; so I shut up my house, and in five or six hours arrived at Eglasse's, where Efflep and his two sons, James and John, gave me a hearty welcome.

I used to walk about to the adjacent towns with Eglasse, and met with several of the natives, who could speak English tolerably ; but here was one of them, who, when a boy, used to go of errands, and transact business for the English pirates, who frequented this place ; so that he spoke English as well as his native tongue. He was very rich, had three wives, many slaves and cattle ; he had also wearing clothes which belonged to such persons as died there ; for when any one was sent sick ashore, he used to take care of them, and if they died, he had what they left. His true name was William Purser, though the natives called him William Poser. He always treated me in a very handsome manner, when I went to see him ; but he never offered me any clothes, nor did I desire any. For there I should have behaved but awkwardly in an English dress ; and as I had now a fine lambe to wear after their manner, I was very well contented.

I had been here above a month, before old Efflep died, and his son James made a grand burial for him, after the manner of the country ; which is the same as in Anterndroea. He killed four or five beeves, to entertain his friends who attended the funeral. The princes and lords do not kill the beasts here ; but a prince will eat any thing, even swine's flesh, though a slave should kill it.

I lived very well between Eglasse and James, till about three or four days before I was to go home; at which time I was seized with a violent fever which turned to an ague, and brought me down so low that I was unable to stir out of the house. They sent a messenger to acquaint deaan Trongha with my misfortune, and took as much care of me as they possibly could; and James would now and then boil a fowl to make a little broth for me. I lay once for dead, and Eglasse being abroad, Toby, who was left with me, called in the neighbours, and all of them thought that I had taken my last gasp; insomuch that they went home, and James was consulting which way to bury me. But when Eglasse returned about two or three hours after, he perceived me breathe, and James burning something under my nose, I revived, indeed, but was not sensible for two days, nor able to sit up for many more. Deaan Trongha being informed that I was dead, sent a messenger to know the truth, who found me alive, but not able to speak to him. After this I gradually recovered; the ague hung upon me three months, and I was two more before I had strength sufficient to go home; insomuch that I had a strong inclination to see deaan Trongha: Eglasse, however, was willing to detain me as long as he could: for now I began to talk English tolerably well, and was good company for him as long as he lived; which was but a little while after my recovery.

Five men having a cow to sell to Eglasse, asked me for him; and he being in the plantation, I went and told him. He came away directly with me to the men, and begged the favour of me to treat with them about the purchase. They asked six pieces of eight, but insisted on four: I would give them, however, no more than three. At last they said, if Eglasse would give them the old lance which he had in his hand, they would take the money. This alarmed me, they whispered, I perceived, two or three times to one another; and having heard that Eglasse threatened the king, deaan Mernaugh, I began to be terribly frightened, and

told him in English that they wanted the lance ; and that I had good reasons to suspect their behaviour ; for the lance was not worth a meal of potatoes. He, however, in a bravado, gave the man the lance : “ Here,” said he, “ we won’t disagree ; take the lance.” No sooner had he delivered it, than a man came behind him, and with both hands pushed the lance in at his back with that force, that it came out of his breast. I turned about at the shriek which Eglasse made, and seeing the man pulling the lance out of his body, I ran amongst the wild canes, which grew by a river side ; and the rustling I made appeared to me like the noise of pursuers. So that it was some time before I could recover my senses ; and when I did, I still continued to listen with attention. In a short time I heard some persons call after me, which proved to be James, and his brother John. I was almost afraid to trust them, but seeing no other company, I came out in tears to them. They told me that deaan Mernaugha had contrived Eglasse’s death for threatening him so often ; but that as I was an Englishman, and belonged to deaan Trongha, I need not fear any thing, for they could have killed you (said they) before you fled, if they had been ordered so to do. This I thought was true. “ Then” said I, “ he may imagine, perhaps, that I shall tell the captains of ships at their arrival, that he kills white men ; and under pretence of danger, may think it expedient to kill me too.” But they assured me as I was an Englishman he durst not do it ; and that the executioners had told him so.

I went home with them, where lay the wounded corpse all naked. They seized likewise on his goods, cattle, and on his two slaves, Robin and Toby ; and stayed in the town all night. The next morning they came to me, and requested that I would go to the king along with them. “ If I were not afraid” said I “ I would, were it on no other account than to beg the body to bury it.” They answered, the king was so far from doing me any harm, that he would be glad to see me, and they were well assured he would grant my request ; and, perhaps, give me some share too of Eglasse’s goods.



Upon this, James and I went ; and calling on William Purser, took him along with us. When I entered the town my heart misgave me, but I considered there was no receding. Deaan Mernaugh was sitting at his own door, with a great many people round about him. I approached, and falling prostrate on the ground before him, licked his feet according to the custom of the country ; which the people were surprised at, having never observed a white man ever to do so before. He permitted me, indeed, at first ; but soon after bid me rise, and not be afraid ; for he would not hurt a hair of my head.

He then ordered Eglasse's cattle to be brought before him, and commanded them to take a white cow (not a bullock) and tie her to a tree. After that the owley was brought out, and an altar was erected, as before described, by placing the owley across two forked sticks, about six feet high, upon a beam ; when this was done, the cow was killed ; then the king rising from his seat, took a green bough, dipped it in the blood, and sprinkled the owley. In the next place he took a small quantity of the fat, and some of the sweet scented gum, and burnt them under it, making the smoke ascend to the owley. After that he took two cutlasses, and whetting them one against another (as a butcher does a knife and steel, but not so quickly) he began his prayer to God, and the Lords of the four quarters of the world, and to his forefathers by their respective names, ending with his grandfather who made the cath with the English captain ; an account of which deaan Trongha had before given me. His name after his death was Munguzungarevo. The form and manner of his prayer was this, or to this effect.

Bless me, O deaan Unghorray, thou Supreme God.

Bless me, O you deaan Meguddummateem. Bless me, O you deaan Antyfertraer. Bless me, O you deaan Aneebelesby. Bless me, O you deaan Anty-moor. Bless me, O ye [here he repeated several other names of his forefathers] but more especially, O you deaan Munguzungarevo ; bless my family, and

this kingdom ; for I have had regard to your oath and the man whom I have now slain is not an Englishman, but of another country ; neither would I have put him to death were it not for my own preservation ; since he often threatened to take away my life, whenever any ships should happen to arrive.

Whilst he was praying, his slaves were cutting up the beef ; when he had done, he ordered me to take the whole breast ; and then he divided the rest among the people. He was pleased to say, that I had none of that barbarous disposition which some white people have ; for he looked upon me as a native ; since I had long accustomed myself to the manners of their country. I had no great inclination to take his beef, but recollecting that Eglasse's destruction was too much owing to his own ill conduct, I thought it was safest to appear pleased with his offer. Robin, the slave, was given to the executioner ; but James bought Toby of the king. I begged leave to bury the body, which favour was readily granted me : and we returned back to James's house. The next morning two messengers came from deaan Trongha to inquire into the truth of this story ; for it had been reported that I was killed ; and in case it had proved so, they were ordered to go directly to deaan Mernaugh, and demand satisfaction of him, he being fully determined to revenge my death ; but as it was otherwise, and they had no instructions relating to Eglasse's case, I went home with them.

At my arrival I was received with as much joy as if I had been a friend of the last importance to them : I went soon after to the chief lady's house, where the other was then present, though she had not been there in half a year before. Deaan Trongha seemed very well pleased likewise, and made me give a particular detail of my own severe sickness, and the tragical end of poor Eglasse ; saying, at the same time, that I had so many fortunate escapes, that he did not think I should die in their country ; but that it would be my lot once more to see old England. Here he repeated his promise to send me thither. In the interim, however, he

ordered my house to be repaired, the cattle having eaten up most of the thatch ; and provisions to be given me not only for the present, but for the time to come ; for he had lately a good harvest, so that we lived in more affluence than before.

One day I asked leave to pay a visit to Rer Befaugher ; for in times of danger from enemies, none went out of town without permission. As I was passing by a river, and walking down to it, I perceived the track of an alligator, which gave a great check to that inclination, and there being two or three houses at but a small distance from it, I was going towards them to beg a little water ; but a young woman who was going with her calabash to dip for some, desired me to stay, and she would supply me with as much as I would drink ; I told her I would accept the favour, but as she went into the water up to her knees to fill her vessel, an alligator with a spring caught fast hold of both her thighs, and dragged her into the stream ; but as she kept her head and hands above water, I threw one lance away, and ran to her assistance with the other ; which she took hold of, and pulled her to me with all my might, but the alligator still keeping his hold, we called aloud for help. At length I got hold of her hand, and she directing me where the creature lay, I struck him with my lance, and wounded him ; but not so deeply as to oblige him to let go, till a second stroke. By this time proper assistance came, and we brought her off safely with two large wounds only, made with his long jaws, and sharp teeth. She was now perfectly naked, for she had lost her lamber in the struggle ; but that was not worth regarding. We saved her life, and every body was highly pleased with that. Rer Befaugher entertained me in a very courteous manner, and having gratified his curiosity, in hearing a short narrative of my late dangerous adventures, I returned home.

The people were ordered to get ready to march in three days at farthest ; and the umossee was employed to prophesy of the success of the war. Upon this he

took some sand, tossed it about, and made several scrawls with it upon a board. At length he bid them look for a tree that was perfectly upright, and after that for a black and baldfaced cow, which being found, and brought to the tree, was killed ; then the umossee took some of the blood with his hand, smeared the tree, and invoked not only the demons, but the spirits of deaan Trongha's forefathers ; calling on them all to arise and hear what he had to say ; which was to this effect That their grandson, deaan Trongha, was going to war against their most implacable enemy, the king of Merfaughla. In the next place, he ordered two men of equal strength to cut the tree down with hatchets, one to the northward, and the other to the southward, and to give stroke for stroke with each other ; saying if the tree fell toward the former, bad success would attend their enterprise. Those of the vulgar sort who were then present, stood gaping to swallow, as it were, every divine word, that came out of the mouth of this wonder-working prophet. How the mistake happened, I can not say, but the tree fell to the northward, though it was beyond all doubt intended to fall the other way ; for when deaan Trongha perceived it, let us cut up the beef (said he) with a smile, and be merry ; that is the best part of the ceremony. We forgot to observe, that what little wind there was, was to the southward. We should have chosen a more proper time. He strictly enjoined, however, all present to say nothing at home to the women of what had passed : so we told them at our return that the tree fell to the southward ; in order that they should tell their husbands the same story.

This conduct of deaan Trongha's confirmed me in a suspicion, which I had entertained for some time, which was this : that some of these lords, who are men of sense, keep one of these umossees with a political view, and only to amuse the ignorant populace ; who here, as well as in other parts, must be cajoled in their superstitious notions, and allured by such artifices as political governors know how to practise to advantage ; though

they themselves regard but little what their conjurors say, of their talking with, and having familiar converse with the demigods and spirits

Here now was a seeming ill omen, and too many of the vulgar sort had seen it, to be trusted with the secret; for which reason an expedient must be found out to avert and disannul it. The demons must be consulted and addressed a second time, to procure their favour and protection; so away goes the umossee, invoking again and again, and conjuring till he conjured me into the wars. A bird, called tuluho, which is something like our pheasant, but smaller, and very scarce to be found, must be caught dead or alive; then a sea-crab, and a variety of other things, which he particularly named. These he blended all together, muttering incantations all the time. Then he bound them up in a clout, which was afterwards fixed on the top of a stick about the length and bigness of a walking-cane. This was a charm which was to prove destructive to the enemy. This he called the elodge; and this was to be carried in solemnity before the army. But who should be a proper person to be the bearer was the next question; and the demons were to be again consulted on this important part of the affair; who were pleased to reveal to him, or (which is all the same thing to stupid bigots, who implicitly rely on whatever he shall say) that no one was qualified to carry this charm, but he who had no relations living on this island. Now from my former observations, I used frequently to contemn these umossees, and smile at their conjurations; and after this hint, I need not, I presume, urge many words to demonstrate from whence his pretended revelation came, though he was pleased to father it on the demons, or demigods; or whatever other name we English may call them. For, to do the man justice, he had not the impiety or assurance to introduce deaan Unghorray, or the Supreme God, into any part of this religious farce.

“Upon this declaration of his,” said deaan Trongha, in my absence, “where shall we find a man without

some relations !” “ That,” says he, “ I cannot tell, but this is the mind of the demons, and they would never direct it, were there no such man to be found ; you must therefore recollect yourself. Now I think of it,” says he, “ there is your white man Robin is the only man, I dare say, who is qualified for that important office ;” “ but then,” said deaan Trongha, “ notwithstanding he may be such a man, yet it is not proper for him to go, besides I have given him my word he shall not go against his inclination.” “ Why then,” said the umossee, “ you must find out some other person more proper if you can.” Having done his business away he went, leaving the deaan in no small perplexity, who was a man of strict honour and a punctual observer of his word. Whereupon he sent for me, and told me, it was in my power to be very serviceable to the whole country, but more especially to himself, and that I should be gratefully rewarded for my compliance with his request ; but he insisted first on my promise. “ If it be not to kill a man,” said I, “ I should be proud of an opportunity to oblige you.” He then told me ingenuously the whole story, and that it could not possibly be helped, or else he would not have asked it of me. I paused a while, but upon a short recollection, said, all I feared was what I told him before ; but since there was an absolute necessity for it, I should readily acquiesce. “ Hereupon,” said he, “ I will protect you, and take as much care of your life and health as of my own.” And immediately ordered a slave to attend me, and all things necessary to be got ready for me. I was to carry this charm, called the elodge, in my left hand, at about three or four stones cast distant from the army, during their march, and at night pitch it at the same distance from the camp, pointing it toward the enemy’s country, then wash myself and mix among the crowd wherever I pleased. This was to be done till we should have an engagement with Woozington’s army ; I was to have ten beeves and two slaves for my trouble. The vulgar imagine that this charm has a poisonous quality, and that was the reason I was to wash before I came

near any of them; but deaan Trongha told me privately, that he knew well enough I did not think it any way pernicious. "No sir," said I, "I am very well assured there is neither harm nor good in it, and they shall see me lick it before their faces if they please, which none of them would venture to do for a hundred oxen. I can never think," said I, "that you yourself have that confidence in it, as you tell them, but you see the ill consequence of making use of these conjurors; for the common people are so strongly persuaded of their power over them by these charms, that were your own life to be in danger, you must do what this imaginary prophet says his demigods direct, though you were to carry this yourself." "What you say," said he, "is very true, and were I to refuse to let you carry it, they would refuse to march; or if they did, would charge me with every miscarriage consequent upon it." "Yes sir," said I, "but there is still a farther danger, for had the umossee but courage and cunning enough, you have put it in his power to make even yourself subservient to his directions; under the pretence of their being the orders of the demons. And it is but his saying his demons or spirits have ordered such or such a thing to be done, though it be even against yourself, they durst not disobey his orders; for he has them all at his beck, if he did but know it." And here I cannot but reflect, that not only Madagascar, and other heathenish countries are possessed with this vice of superstition; but even christian nations have been, and are yet too much tainted with it: of this and its mischievous consequences, there have been many flagrant instances.

Soon after we marched out of town, I had a slave, like other great men, to carry my mat and provision for me, and was furnished with every thing I could reasonably desire. Now came the umossee, and put the elodge into my left hand, and I marched in state before them. The next day we joined Rer Befaugher, and two days after that, Rer Mundrosser; James, the son of Efflep, and his man Toby, were both in the army, so that we had good company every evening, as



soon as I had fixed my elodge and washed myself. We passed the great river Oneghaloyhe, wading through a ford, which lay a great way higher than where I passed it before. Here our people stocked themselves with beef; for we frequently halted at noon, on purpose to give them time to hunt Hattoy's cattle.

When I came to the river where several alligators lay, though I had my firebrand in my hand, yet I would not venture to pass over by myself. Then the umossee came up to me and said, I need not be afraid, for whilst I carried the elodge, the demons would protect me from all harm. I laughed at him and told him, "I was well assured he did not imagine that I gave any credit to his assertion, neither have you any such notion of its power; but if you have, do you carry it over here, and either go with me or before me." However, though he had more wit, I forced him to fetch two guns, that I might discharge them into the water to make the alligators retreat; and then I went over. We saw several people who belonged to two petty princes not far off, and were hunting here for their diversion; as they were not enemies, our people had abundance of discourse with them. Though we passed through a very mountainous wilderness, yet we lay but two nights in it, for they knew a much nearer way than I did when I came alone. When I saw Vohitchfutey, I returned in a very melancholy mood into the camp; insomuch that deaan Trongha took notice of it, and asked me, what I ailed? I told him, we were now drawing near to Anterndroea, which had been a scene of misery to me, and I had terrible apprehensions of deaan Mevarrow. But he cheered me up, and said, they durst not venture to injure me, and he was very well assured that they would not attempt it, as well out of fear, as out of respect to him.

The next day we arrived at Madamvovo, the river at which I used to water my cattle, when in deaan Murnanzack's country. This was ordered to be the place of rendezvous, and deaan Murnanzack with his brethren, and their forces all met here. Deaan Afferrer

soon took notice of me, and when I went to lick his feet he lifted me up and seated me by himself, asking deaan Trongha at the same time how I came to him? I was desired to tell my own tale, which accordingly I did to his satisfaction. He said, I had taken a great deal of pains for liberty, but it was no more than he would have done himself under the same circumstances; and wished me all the good success imaginable.

Deaan Crindo and his sons came the next day, and deaan Mevarrow and his brother along with them. Though I was sorry to find he was recovered of the yaws, yet I ventured to go to him, when I found his brother was with him. After the usual ceremony of licking their feet, they said they were glad to see me, and asked me why I left them? I pretended, in case he would give me my wife, to return as soon as the army parted. Whereupon both told me, she would not marry any other man, but continued constantly to lament my absence. This drew unfeigned tears from me, and here I must confess, that if a sincere conjugal affection be a weakness in man, I must own, let the world think as it pleases, myself guilty of that weakness. These tears, however, as it proved afterwards, were the happy means of deceiving them, and of my escape from danger. And had my shedding them been a piece of artifice only, it might carry its own justification with it; since I had good reason to fear he would have murdered me privately, when he perceived I either contemned or hated him. At night I let deaan Trongha into the secret, lest he should suspect I was carrying on some sinister design in visiting Mevarrow. Here I met with my old trusty friend, who had all this time kept my secrets. He told me likewise, that my wife continued inconsolable, and repented every day of her life that she did not go with me.

In about three days, the army, which now consisted of about four thousand men, marched, and I went before them with the elodge. On the day following we entered the country of Merfaughla, and here the army divided into three parts as in their former expedition,

and marched with much more circumspection than before, for we were in an enemy's country; I still marched in the front. As we were passing between the two woods, a volley of shot was all on a sudden discharged at me; but the enemy ran away as soon as they had fired. They were a small party in ambuscade, on purpose to lay hold on such opportunities. The shot whistled about my ears, and some small boughs that flew off from the trees striking me, I could not immediately tell whether I was wounded or not. However I stopped, and was determined to proceed no farther. Deaan Tradaughe, who was the nearest commander, ordered me to go on; but I peremptorily refused, unless they would send a party to march before. The umossee too came, and talked to me in his old conjuring dialect; and with the same success as he did at the river. At length deaan Crindo came, and commanded me to go on, declaring he would otherwise compel me. I was terribly nettled at the haughtiness of one, whom I had so much reason to hate, and boldly told him he was a proud prince, and that I thanked God I was not under his jurisdiction. "It is true," said he, "or else I would take care you should go no farther." Deaan Trongha was now come forward, and asked what was the matter? To whom deaan Crindo complained of my being both obstinate and saucy. He answered, it was unreasonable as well as cruel to desire I should be exposed to danger at that silly rate; and as to the man's pertness, said deaan Trongha, you forget he is a white, and as good as any of us all. In short, deaan Crindo was obliged to let a hundred young men go before me, and in good time truly it was; for there were several such firings at us that afternoon from small ambuscades.

Two days after this we came to the river, not only where we had encamped before, but fought and defeated deaan Woozington, and killed his brave general Ry-Opheck. Here we encamped again, and as no enemy appeared, most of us were for plundering the country; but deaan Trongha persuaded us against it,

and advised us to march still on, in order to find the enemy out, if possible, before they divided their forces into small parties. As for my part, I did not care how soon we came to a battle, for then I should get rid of the elodge.

At length when we had marched four days, a body of the enemy of about a thousand appeared on a plain before us, and deaan Trongha drew out his countrymen to fight them. The umossee came up to me, charging me to march before my master with the elodge, and to throw it towards the enemy as soon as the engagement began. We marched forwards, and they advanced, though but slowly to meet us, for they had a secret design. Deaan Trongha, as they wanted, drew near, and they still kept firing, though at a distance; however, it was fight enough for my purpose, as being a fair excuse for throwing away the elodge. I did it with alacrity, and returned forthwith to the camp; for I had neither gun nor lance to fight, and was glad at my heart to be eased of so troublesome a post. The enemy withdrew into a wood, and our people eagerly followed and fired at them, till the general, who, with eagle's eyes, looked round about him, notwithstanding the heat of the action, and discovered a long train of fire-arms on a rising bank of earth, among the trees and bushes. Upon that he immediately called out to his people to stop, discovering, moreover, a great number of men concealed in a ditch, that was cast up for that purpose, so he marched back without the loss of one man; for there was no fighting in an unknown wood, and with an unknown force.

Deaan Woozington was, doubtless, one of the most subtle artful men on the island, for though he had not force enough to face an army of four thousand men, and his country was ruined, yet he found out ways and means to be revenged in the severest manner; nor did my valiant master deaan Trongha, notwithstanding his great conduct and bravery, escape his resentment. Our beef being all spent and no enemy to be found that would fight, parties were sent out in quest of

cattle and slaves, and returned with good success; though the principal generals, that is to say, deaan Crindo, deaan Murnanzack, and deaan Trongha continued in the camp. Some scouts, however, who had discovered where a large herd of cattle were, coming in, Trongha would go out himself to fetch them; deaan Crindo, indeed, advised him against it, but he would not hearken to his counsel. So about a hundred of the Anterndroeans, with a like number of his own people went with us, for I determined to go, but, Providence designed otherwise, I was taken with a violent pain in my thigh. I went out with them, however, for I was very loth to stay behind him; but my pain increasing, the deaan would not permit me to proceed, and I was forced to hop as it were back, for I could scarcely walk, and never saw this great good prince more; for in three days' after, three men brought the melancholy news of deaan Trongha's death, as follows.

About sunrising, a man informed the general, that a party of about fifty of the enemy appeared upon the plain; whereupon he marched his little army out of the wood towards them, and soon saw their number increase; he was resolved, however, to attack them. Here he was guilty of a piece of ill conduct, forgetting that the Anterndroeans were good for little else but bush-fighting. When they came nearer, they saw another party, and though soon after a third appeared, yet there was no retreating. Some of the Anterndroeans, it is true, ran away, and others concealed themselves in the high grass; so that there were but threescore of his own Feraighner people, stood with him to oppose some hundreds. They maintained the fight, however, half the morning; the general received two wounds without falling, but at length, a third killed him. By this time there were not above twenty of his party left, and they resolutely forced their way through the enemy, of which number were those, who gave us this account. The Anterndroea men who skulked in the grass, were most of them killed; for the grass there being very long, and very dry at this time of the

year, the enemy set fire to it, and it ran like wildfire, scorching the men who lay concealed under it ; so that they were obliged to rise, and most of them were overtaken and cut to pieces.

The death of this great man was an inexpressible loss to the whole army, and by all was sincerely lamented. It was, indeed, a mortifying stroke to me ; and I was inconsolable, not knowing what calamities might befall me in this country. Rer Befaugher did not return till ten days after, at which time, though he brought a good prize of cattle and slaves, yet his joy was all damped at once with the news of his brother's decease ; which was so shocking to him, that he was not composed enough to talk of any affairs of the army till the next day. This unfortunate accident obliged me to carry on the deceit with Mevarrow, by assuring him that I would come privately to him, as soon as the army broke up ; but I was very uneasy till I had a favourable opportunity of communicating my whole project to Rer Befaugher, and of begging his protection, which he readily granted. Whereupon it was agreed that I should absent myself two or three days before their separation, in order to blind deaan Mevarrow, and make him think that I ran away from the Feraighner people and fled to his town before him ; when, in reality, I and my man only went by night to a place appointed, and stayed till Rer Befaugher and the rest came to us.

The several parties who went out for plunder returned ; and after the cattle were divided, which were some thousands, besides slaves, the army decamped. The Feraighner people did not see the Anterndroeans home, as they did before ; but took their leave here, and went directly to their own country a much nearer way. I and my servant, as was privately agreed on with Rer Befaugher, went away, and met them according to appointment, to the great surprise of all the people ; for there had been a diligent inquiry made after me, every one imagining that I was lost. Rer Befaugher made such a clamour with deaan Mevarrow, and some others, that deaan Crindo gave him two

slaves to pacify him, lest a quarrel of dangerous consequence should have ensued. One of the slaves, who was a young man, Rer Befaugher made me a present of. I was somewhat surprised, not knowing immediately what he meant by it; but telling the whole story, and saying, that both were by right mine, I was satisfied; he called my slave's name Sambo. It was near a month before we passed over the river Oneghaloyhe, spending our time gaily in hunting, eating, and drinking, making but very short marches. We did this out of a charitable design to feed our captives; for we had ruined their country to that degree that for many months they had very little to subsist on; so that the poor wretches looked dismally thin.

When we came within one or two days' journey of Rer Befaugher's, the cattle were divided; and such as had two or more slaves presented one of them to their lord, in conformity to the same law and custom which is used in Anterndroea, as I have before related. This I thought a proper time to mention to Rer Befaugher what I was promised as a gratuity for carrying the elodge; and told him the fatigue and hazard I underwent did very well deserve it. He said, there would have been no objection against it in case deaan Trongha had lived: however, he would go to deaan Mondrosser and see what he said to it. He returned soon with five cows, and some short time after that a girl slave was sent me; but as I had already a man, who was as much as I wanted, I desired to have two cows instead of the girl, which request was readily complied with. My cattle I intrusted to the care of my man Sambo.

When we arrived at Rer Befaugher's town, I left my cattle with my slave, and went to deaan Trongha's town to visit his widows. There I found a melancholy scene. The eldest lady would fain have persuaded me to live with her; but I told her I was not safe unless I was under the protection of some such great man as Rer Befaugher was; but I would embrace every opportunity of coming to see her, and would for ever testify the veneration I had for the memory of her dearly beloved



lord, as well as my gratitude to her for all former favours.

Upon my return I met my man Sambo, who informed me that he was going to build me a house; Rer Befaugher had provided one for me, and gave him likewise the necessary furniture for it. When I paid my respects to Rer Befaugher on that account, I was informed of deaan Crindo's death, which (according to the relation of some who came from his country after us) was very sudden and unexpected.

Deaan Woozington, with what forces he could get together, kept always within a day's march of us, having spies for ever out to observe all our motions every way, and who were going and returning alternately to and from his little army with intelligence of what they observed; so that he knew very well when we parted from the Anterndroeon people. They were still too strong for him, so that he was obliged to wait some time longer for an opportunity of executing his revenge, and accordingly followed them at a considerable distance till they arrived at Madamvovo; where deaan Murnanzack, and brethren, Afferrer and Mussecoro, parted from them in order to go home; and this was the crisis that he then wanted. So waiting but one day more, till they were at too great a distance to assist each other, he attacked deaan Crindo in the night, and killed him with a great number of his people, and put the rest to flight, deaan Mevarrow narrowly escaping; and this he did so expeditiously and so successfully, that he had time to withdraw into Merfaughla with most of the cattle which they had taken from him.

Deaan Mundumbo, indeed, upon his father's decease, endeavoured to act as king; but he had neither courage enough to maintain his claim, nor was he so much beloved by the people to stand in competition with deaan Murnanzack. He wanted some of those valuable qualities which his father was possessed of; for it must be acknowledged that Crindo was undaunted in war, and had the spirit of authority at home, which alone supported his dignity, and made him useful to his

country. Murnanzack had his uncle's magnanimity in war, and his majesty at home, besides all the human and social virtues; and was, in reality, a truly great man: so that Mundumbo was obliged to fly into Antenos, till matters were accommodated; and what became of either of them I never heard, for not long afterwards I was moved into another country at a farther distance from Anterndroea.

Rer Befaugher entertained me as handsomely as his brother had done. He had but one wife, with whom he had cohabited nine years, without any issue. This was a great misfortune, especially as she was a very agreeable, good-natured woman, and behaved herself after so endearing a manner, that he preferred her to all the women in the world. In short, she was universally respected, and extremely kind to me. As three of my cows gave a considerable quantity of milk, and as they furnished me with carravances and Guinea-corn, I and my man Sambo lived well enough. This continued all the rain-time, and though we planted and sowed, yet we never stayed to reap. For,

News was brought by some people who lived at a great distance, that deaan Worzington was marching toward us with a numerous army. Spies were sent out to observe them, who at their return told us, that according to the best computation they could make, there were about three thousand under arms, and within three days' march. Deaan Mernaugh, hearing this, gave us orders to send all our cattle, wives, and slaves to the river Feraingher, which runs on one side deaan Mernaugh's town. I was so careful of the little stock I had, that I attended them to the river; and went immediately to James's house, (the son of Efflep,) where I met with Hampshire, his wife, and daughter. Two days after, upon information that Woozington had passed Oneghaloyhe, we were ordered farther northward to Murnumbo; where in less than three days we were alarmed with fresh news of an army of Saccalauvors being just ready to attack us; whereupon we were obliged to retreat immediately, and Woozington, as we

were informed, not having penetrated so far as the river Feraingher, we made an attempt to go there again ; but the Saccalauvor army was so near us, that we were forced to fly for our lives, and leave all our cattle behind us, and make the best of our way to the river. Those of our people who had any arms made a running fight of it, in order to save the women and children ; though we reached the river, yet they were in sight of us by this time. As for Hampshire's wife she ran away from him ; so out of compassion I took him by the hand, and hurried him into the very same cane-thicket where I fled at the death of Eglassé. We had not long seated ourselves there, before we heard some women and children shriek out, who were taken prisoners at a very small distance from us in the same thicket ; which put us into the utmost consternation, for we could expect nothing but instant death. We had not been long under these frightful apprehensions before I espied the enemy. Upon which we got up to run, but knew not whither ; one of them, however, fired, and shot poor Hampshire in the back ; of which wound he died upon the spot. I was more nimble, and got out of his reach ; but just at the entrance of the thicket I met another, who ran directly at me. He took a lance in order to throw at me, but I called out to him to save my life, and told him I would go with him. As he saw I had no weapons (for I had neither lance nor gun) he bid me come forward ; so I went and licked his feet according to custom, and owned myself his slave. Whereupon he told me, that he would spare my life, since I was a white man, and was unarmed.

He carried me with him into the body of the army, and the news was soon spread abroad, that a white man was taken prisoner ; insomuch that the general heard of it, and thereupon my conqueror and I were both sent for. Upon my kneeling and licking his feet, he asked if there were any body about him who could speak either English or Dutch ? but he was surprised to hear me address him in his own language. He asked me abundance of questions with regard to the strength of deaan

Mernaugha ; the number of his people, and a thousand other things of the like nature ; all which I avoided answering as artfully as I could for Rer Befaugher's sake. However, after the examination was over, he gave the person who took me another slave in exchange, at which I was somewhat better pleased than before ; for it was a miserable thing indeed to be the slave of a slave. My new master ordered me to follow him, which I did whilst they marched, though that was not long ; for soon after they encamped on the banks of the river. This was the best and finest camp I had ever seen in this country, for all the tents were very good. As soon as the general's tent was erected, he desired me to sit down, and inform him by what accident I came upon the island ; and how it came to pass, that, as I was a white man, I spoke their language with so much freedom. I gratified him with a long detail of my whole history, to which he listened with great attention ; and we had abundance of discourse concerning my surprising adventures. After he saw that I had supped, (for I did not eat with him,) he gave one of his head officers strict charge to see that I wanted for nothing ; and when one of his people advised him to set a guard over me, he said, there was no danger of my running away ; for as white men have no home on this island, all places are alike to them ; and they will stay with those longest who entertain and feed them best ; and he was well assured that the people of Feraighner, at that time, were in no capacity to oblige me. And his notion was very just, for so heartily did I feed this evening, having eaten no beef for a long time before, that I was very sick. And when I came to reflect that ships came to this country, and the poor state and condition of St. Augustine bay rendered it very improbable that they should come to trade there, I found, that by this Providence, I had more hopes of getting sooner to England here, than at any other place I had ever yet been at : and the general was right in his notion, for I had no business to fly or desert since I could not mend myself. Having free liberty to go

where I pleased, my curiosity led me to see if I knew any of the captives; and upon examination I met with Hampshire's widow and daughter, Toby, and Robin, and Sambo, my own man; I shook him by the hand, and told him I was a slave now as well as he. He said, I am sorry for it; for I had much rather have served you than any one else; and sure I am I shall never live so well again.

When the general had fully gratified his curiosity in inquiring after my affairs, I had likewise as strong an inclination to know who was my master, and was informed that he was dignified by the names of Rer Towlerpherangha and Rer Vove. It is a custom here for persons of distinction to have two names; and as the last is the most in use, I shall hereafter distinguish him by that only. He was grandson to Rer Trimmonongarevo, king of Saccalauvor; though called Yong-owl by the Europeans, and Morandavo from a river of that name. Rer Vove intrusted me to the care of one Guy, who was a considerable man, and a relation (though at some distance) of the king's. All the great families in this country have a general name of distinction, which they value themselves upon; as most of our European gentlemen do on their coat of arms.

We continued here two days, in hopes that deaan Woozington would in that time have penetrated through the country on that side, and have joined us; but we were informed that Rer Befaugher, by his good conduct, had blocked up some passages, and so well defended others, that he was glad to withdraw without effecting any thing to the purpose. On this news, our general retired to Murnumbo, pleasing himself with hopes that deaan Mernaugh would be foolish and hot enough to follow and fight him. Mernaugh, however, wisely chose to sit down for once contented with his present loss, rather than hazard all for the gratification of his revenge, which might be more justly deemed foolish pride and passion, than real valour. Rer Vove perceiving no more could be done when he had continued nere about seven or eight days, till the parties ordered

out were returned, marched homeward, and instead of putting a guard over me, as he did over others, gave me a blunderbuss, and made me guardian general over several of my late country folks, giving me full commission to shoot the first who should attempt to run away.

I had several under my care, but more particularly Hempshire's widow, and three other women, who, as I attended them one evening into a private recess in a wood, told me, "it was a great mortification to them to be guarded by one who so lately fought for, and defended them; telling me, moreover, that it was no great difficulty for them to find means of making their escape, in case I was but willing." "You are right," said I, "and it is your interest, as you have families; besides, you may possibly be sold to some ships:" which was what I heartily wished for, as my interest was contrary to theirs. I told them, moreover, that "I would never have gone from Feraighner, if I had not been forced away; but since the good providence of God had thought fit thus to dispose of me, I would not oppose the divine will, nor act inconsistently with my own reason, for I was well assured of better provision here than in Feraighner, in its present unhappy state, especially as I had lost all the cattle I had, though my stock, indeed, was but small." I assured them, however, that I would never mention what they had proposed, which they, being under fearful apprehensions, begged that I would never disclose the secret; neither did I, but looked a little more circumspectly after them than I did before.

Though our marches were but short, yet we soon arrived to the confines of Saccalauvor, where there were no inhabitants. It is a delightful country, and I saw a great variety of monkees, baboons, virjees, and wild swine, &c., in abundance, but very few, or none of Hattoy's cattle.

About three days afterwards we passed by divers towns, which belonged to Rer Mimebolambo, alias Moiang Andro; it being the selfsame country which

Rer Vovvern, late king of Feraighner, procured for him by treaty, of his uncle Rer Trimmonongarevo. In the towns and meadows there were abundance of humped cattle, and such as were much larger than any I had ever seen in the island before, but was informed these were kept near home for private use; that the prince and lords took care to have their principal stock of cattle a great way farther to the northward, and in such numbers, that they could not tell how many they had. Of the truth of which I was soon afterwards very fully convinced. Our forces now dwindled away apace, since numbers went daily home as they came near to the several towns to which they belonged, without taking any formal leave of the general, since they had no pay to take, or any to demand; for every one being conscious to himself that it is his interest to join with his neighbours in preventing an enemy from committing plunder, no one ever murmured at their generals for leading them forth to war, it being their own cause, and not the general's, in which they engage; for if they found their lords proved imperious and tyrannical, they would refuse to go with them, since they could easily remove and live under others. They fight for their own security and ease, and when they get any plunder from their enemies, they think themselves sufficiently rewarded.

Moherbo is the principal town, or rather city, and royal residence of the king, who is our general's grandfather, to whom, as in duty bound, we paid a visit before he went home. When we arrived within a mile or two, three messengers were despatched for form-sake, to give him notice of our approach, and to learn his royal pleasure, who made answer, "that if Rer Vove should come, he was very ready to receive him." Hereupon he put his people in order, and appointed fifty men to stand in the front and discharge their guns; and then fifty more to relieve them; the shells all the time sounding. When we came within sight of the king, who was sitting with his courtiers and people round about him, we heard their shells sound and



drums beat ; this, their congratulatory music, was but a dull empty sound ; in some measure, indeed, like their country tubs, which are made of a light tree hollowed very thin, and covered with a calf's skin that is dressed much like our parchment. Both ends are beaten at once, one with a stick, and the other with the hand

This king lives in a more splendid manner, and has a gayer retinue than I had ever seen before. He has twenty or thirty several houses, or rather a large court enclosed with palisades in the town ; but as it was not large enough for the reception of so many people, he sat on this occasion without the town. Our first fifty men advanced like morris-dancers, and fired their guns very regularly one after another ; and upon their retreat, the other fifty advanced. After this, the general stepped forwards, and bending one knee, licked the king's. Several principal men bowed likewise their knees, but licked his feet. This ceremony over, a mat was spread at about four yards' distance, and the general with three or four of the chieftains sat down, and Guy was amongst them. As for my part, I stood behind my master with my blunderbuss.

This prince, Rer Trimmonongarevo, made, a I thought, a very odd and formidable figure, whether it was because I had heard many stories of some of his rash and barbarous proceedings, which had prejudiced me against him. His dress was very singular, and such as I had never seen before ; his hair was plaited in ringlets, beginning at the crown of the head ; then another range of knots was bigger than the former, and so downwards, every lower circle was larger than the upper ; on several of these knots of hair hung a large quantity of fine beads. Some part of his fore-head-piece of beads hung almost over his nose, among these were several gold ones. He had a very fine gold necklace about his neck ; over his shoulders hung two strings of beads, and several of them gold, in much the same manner as our aldermen of London's chains ; on each wrist about six manelers of silver, seeming large enough to weigh nearly three dollars apiece, and four

rings of gold on his fingers. Nearly twenty strings of beads, closely set, were twisted round his legs; a silk lamber hung over his shoulders, loose like a mantle, and another, as usual, twisted round his waste. He was an old prince, not less, by what I could understand, than fourscore years of age at least, yet of a robust and healthy constitution. His colour was rather tawny, like an Indian, than perfectly black; his eyes fierce, and his whole appearance formidable; or the singularity of his dress and character made me imagine so; he soon took notice of me, and asked Rer Vove if I was the white man he had taken prisoner? and what was my name? He called to me, "Robin, mehove a toeë," which is come hither. I then laid my blunderbuss down, and approached him with my hands lifted up and closed before me. As soon as I got to him I fell on my knees, and licked first one of his feet and then the other, as the common people did before me. He ordered me to sit by him, but not on his own mat neither. He asked several questions in relation to my first coming on this island, and informed me that he had a white man of his own; "but he is an Englishman," said he, "and whether you can speak that language, or not, I cannot say." I told him I was an Englishman myself. I began to cheer up, and have a little more courage upon this agreeable news; and was surprised that my master had not mentioned this circumstance before. I asked the king how long his white man had been with him? and what his name was? "Six or seven years," said he: "his name is Will." Upon this, he ordered a man to call him immediately, who brought word that Will was gone out of town, and would not be back in less than three or four days; so finding the king enter upon some new discourse with the general, I withdrew to my former post.

Soon after we went to a house which was ordered for our reception, where I was discharged from guarding his slaves; for he did that, as he told me afterwards, only to try my fidelity, since he knew very well, if I had not been honest, they would have all got away;

but as he was convinced I did him justice, he had a post of much greater importance to intrust me with. By this time, came in Ry Chemotoea, the king's principal wife, and the grandmother of Rer Vove, my master. She was the largest woman I had ever seen in all my life. When she sat, her breasts hung down to her lap; she walked but little, being generally carried on a kind of bier on men's shoulders. She had a numerous retinue, besides slaves, who brought four calabashes of toake; two of honey, and two of sugar canes, together with six baskets of rice. The king sent ten beeves, four of which were very large fat oxen. As soon as Ry Chemotoea was gone, we sat down to drinking the honey-toake, till Rer Vove was perfectly intoxicated, and fell asleep, at which time three slaves came from his grandmother loaden with presents; one with a fat capon boiled, for they made capons here; another with a pot of dried rice; and the third with a basket, a wooden dish, and a spoon. This was the best supper I had seen of the natives dressing, and I had my share of it; but for all this good cheer, I could not forbear thinking of this Will, the Englishman, and was very much concerned that we could not stay till he came home.

The next day we marched homewards, and though it was two days' journey, yet we hastened to come in as early as we could the second day, because of the great triumph we were then to make. The solemnity of which was much the same as I have described in other places, and consisted in their wives licking their feet, &c.

Rer Vove's house was nearly eight yards long, and about six broad, built of boards, as all the great men's houses are in Saccalauvor. Notwithstanding they have no saws, with a great deal of labour, however, they hew out boards very even with their hatchets. The language is much the same with that in other countries, except as English in Yorkshire, or the west of England, where each place has a particular dialect, and some small difference in its pronunciation.

My post here was a grand one, for I was constituted

captain of my master's guard. There were palisades all round his house, and at the portal, or gateway, was a little house for several young men of a higher degree to lie in, who were his guard, and over whom, as I said before, I was appointed chief, but this did not last above a month; at which time he thought proper to go a shooting wild fowl, and took no one but me with him. In our private conversation, he told me how vicious the people of Saccalauvor were grown within a few years, as their country grew rich; and that young men living so high, and drinking such large quantities of toake, induced them frequently to lie with other men's wives, by which means murders, and several other misfortunes, have ensued. "As for my part," said he, "I have no reason, indeed, to suspect my wife Ry Kaley; however, to prevent all jealous thoughts for the future, I will intrust her to your care, and desire that she may never be absent from your charge by night or day, on any pretence, how plausible soever, unless she be with me. I am very well satisfied she will not take this amiss, and you have no occasion to regard any one else." I returned him thanks for the favourable opinion he had of my integrity; and assured him I would take the same care I had done hitherto, in the due discharge of my duty to him in all things, wherein he thought proper to command me; but I was afraid, lest some of his trusty old servants should envy me my post, and insinuate to him things prejudicial to his honour and my care. "Upon that account," said he, "you have no cause for fear, since it is always expected here, that marks of favour and distinction be shown to white men." When we came home, he broke his mind to her, with much such another apology as he did to me. She prevented him, however, from asking her consent, apprehending in a moment what he aimed at; so saying, "I desire nothing more than that you will take all the measures you think proper, in order to retain the same opinion of me you always had; and in case Robin is to be my guardian, I will submit with pleasure to his directions; and from henceforth, Robin," said

she, "I will never be out of your sight, but when I am with Rer Vove himself; and as I am now under your jurisdiction, be sure you discharge your trust as you ought, and don't imagine that you can displease me by the strictest observance of your orders. On the other hand, I propose abundance of pleasure in your conversation, by telling me stories of your uncommon adventures." Indeed, she gave me good grounds to think she was not displeased with me. It was my business to attend her on all occasions. Sometimes, indeed, her women-slaves were with her, but we were oftener by ourselves, and that too through her own contrivance; and whether my master had, in reality, so great an opinion of her chastity as he pretended, I cannot determine; but I found her to be a very gay, wanton lady, and was forced to exert all the art I was master of, in order to keep her out of other company, as well as to preserve my own innocence. However, as my life lay at stake, I was resolved to be true to my trust. It was full three quarters of a year before I got rid of this troublesome office; during which time, my master took a fancy to another woman who had lately been divorced from a cousin of his, and made her, if we may call her so, his supernumerary wife. He was extremely fond of her at first, but soon quarrelled with her, used her ill, turned her in short quite off, and returned with as much indulgence as ever to my charge, Ry Kaley, again.

Not long after this, Rer Vove proposed to take a tour to the northward, for his pleasure, and to take a survey of his cattle; so ordering his furniture to be removed to his head slave's till his return, our house was locked up, and away we marched. We were a large company of us, Ry Kaley, his wife, his friend Guy, with several other attendants, besides slaves. It had rained very hard for some time before we set out; so coming to a small river, which was considerably swelled with the floods, the people made a halt, not caring to push forwards with too much precipitation, lest some alligators might have come up into the

marshes, as is customary, and return again to their old haunts upon the fall of the waters. As the river was shallow enough to wade through, I was so fool-hardy as out of a bravado to lead the way. Two fine dogs, that were my master's favourites, went into the water along with me, but kept close to my heels, one on each side of me, for the dogs are very apprehensive of alligators. I was up to my belly in the water, or thereabouts, when an alligator, all on a sudden, gave such a spring at the dog on my left side, that the monster's nose struck me down. The alligator, dog, and I vanishing, as it were, at once, our people took it for granted I had been carried off; but rising at a small distance and finding myself not hurt, I went directly over; upon which they all followed me. For if a noise be made by a great number of people, an alligator will sink, like a stone, to the bottom, and lie without the least motion, and though you tread on him, he will not stir an inch. As we took our journey for pleasure only, we had no occasion to fatigue ourselves, so we marched but slowly. In a few hours we arrived on the banks of a very large river, called Mernee. Here we came to a town inhabited by a people of a different species, as it were, from the rest of mankind, and of a language peculiar to themselves, though they can speak the general language if they please. Their customs too, and manners, being as different as their persons, of which I shall give a particular detail, according as I was farther informed soon after.

Rer Vove gave orders that one of the houses of these Virzimbers, which is the name they are generally known by, should be made clean for him, and all the old furniture be removed; and as for us, who were of his retinue, we might shift as well as we could. There are very few Saccalauvors care to lie in any of their houses, for fear of an insect like a cow-tick, called poropongee, which is frequently found upon cattle, and this insect is found nowhere else; but these people breed them, on purpose to make their houses shunned by the Saccalauvors; for the Virzimbers, till very lately, were, who



no government, and often changing their habitations; so that upon their first settlement here, the natives used to come into their houses, and take away whatever they saw convenient; imposing most shamefully upon them, till the king, under whose protection they are at present, redressed their grievances upon hearing their complaints. These poropongees will make those who are bitten by them sick, sometimes for six weeks, or two months together; sticking close to the skin, or penetrating into it for a long time; but when a man has been once tormented by them, and has overcome the sickness, he never has it again, though he lies among ever so many of them; or, at least, like persons who have had the small pox, they never fear a return of their distemper. These Virzimbers are very subject likewise to what they call colah, which is a kind of the yaws, a disease which has been described before. It is so frequent, however, here, that a third part of the people of a town are sometimes spotted like lepers, with dry scabs. We continued here but one night, and passed over this large river in canoes the next morning.

About half a day's march from hence lives Rer Moume, king Trimmonongarevo's eldest son, and uncle to Rer Vove, to whom we went to pay a visit. Messengers, for form sake, were sent before; an agreeable answer being received, we approached the town, and found him sitting for the shade sake, in great state under a tamarind-tree, as it was excessively hot. He is a very great prince, and extremely well beloved: there were twelve wives, and a great many other people then with him. When Rer Vove, accompanied by his wife Ry Kaley, came to him, they kneeled and licked his knee. After which she soon withdrew among the women, but he sat down on a mat near his uncle. All his aunts in general, except one who was blind, came to him and licked his shoulder, for they had not seen him since his return from his expedition at Feraighner. The toake went about plentifully, and some was given to our principal carmingle, among whom I was constantly with Guy, who best sonarticular regard for me. My master, however,



being not a little proud of his white man, called to me in broken English, for he had just enough to say, "Come hither;" or, "How do you do?" When Rer Moume saw me; "Were it not for his hair and eyes," said he, "I should scarcely have known him to be white, his skin is so scorched with the sun that it is as swarthy almost as my own: Ry Anzacker there, is as white as he." And, to confess the truth, there was no great difference in our complexion. This was his second wife, and sister to deaan Tokeoffu, king of Munnongaro, alias Masseleege. Rer Moume was of a copper colour, rather than a black. Though he had no visible distemper upon him, yet he had lost the use of his limbs, and though he had no swelling in his legs or sores about him, and looked well to all outward appearance, yet he could not stand upright. This misfortune was supposed to be brought upon him by poison, which was given him by one of his wives with a treacherous intent to kill him, she having been a captive, and the consort of a neighbouring prince who opposed him, and was killed in battle. He sat on a square seat, or throne made on purpose for him, but so low that he could rest his legs on the ground if he thought fit.

Perceiving I could speak their language, he was extremely delighted with me, for he was a good-natured, courteous man, which I have just reason to acknowledge: for by his compassion I was redeemed from the hardships of slavery during my continuance here; and, at last, dismissed in a friendly and genteel manner, and by his means sent home to England. The whole discourse now turned on me and my surprising adventures; the women, too, bore a part in the conversation, and expressed their pity, saying, they should be glad to have me among them, and should think they could never do enough for me, if I would oblige them with the agreeable stories of my travels. But this happy time was not yet come, I was to undergo a few more fatigues first, though my state of slavery did not continue long.

My master, Rer Vove, was a gay young man, who

pursued his pleasures and was guilty of some vices, like many of our young noblemen in Europe, was always in action, full of fire, and as his constitution was very warm and sanguine, he would be guilty of too many of the follies which youth are prone to. As to his stature he was very tall, for in an army or crowd he might be distinguished at a distance, being a head taller at least than most of the people; however, he was exactly proportioned and well-shaped, his legs and arms were finely tapered. I was obliged sometimes to assist him in his love adventures, of which a pretty remarkable, as well as dangerous one, was on this journey; as follows:—

No sooner had he parted from his uncle, than he determined to visit his cousin, Rer Chemunghoher; but coming near his town, and being informed that he was gone from home as far as Moherbo, a thought came into his head to send his wife one way, whilst he took another under a pretence of business, and to meet about four days after, advising her at the same time to go through some towns of the Virzimbers, who always make one present or another to those of the family, according as their abilities will permit. His attendants, or the greatest part of them, were ordered to accompany his wife; and as for me, whom she expected to have been left her guardian, he bid follow him. When we were at a sufficient distance from the people, he told me he had a secret to communicate to me of no small importance, and desired, likewise, my assistance in a particular affair, which he proposed to put in execution. “You know my fidelity,” said I, “and are sensible that I would scruple nothing but the commission of murder to serve you.” “It is nothing of that nature, I assure you,” said he, “but the consequence may prove fatal if you do not act with discretion: Rer Chemunghoher, in short, has married one who was my consort before Ry Kaley; and, on a quarrel, I put her away a little too rashly, and my kinsman also married her in too much hurry, or we should probably have agreed again. The woman I still have an affection

for, and as her husband happens to be abroad, I have some thoughts of your procuring me an interview with her. There is a Maurominter, that is to say, a black man of any other country, who can speak English; you shall pay him a visit, by which means you may come to the speech of her." I was fond of this opportunity to see this English Maurominter; and for that reason I readily agreed to his proposal; and having my full instruction, and a man for my guide, I left my master at a small village, about two hours' walk from Rer Cheinunghoher's town, and proceeded immediately on my errand.

Lewis (for that was his name) received and entertained me in a handsome manner. He was born, he said, in Jamaica, followed the sea, and being taken by pirates was set on shore at St. Augustine-bay, where he lived some time, but the troubles of that country coming on, he, as well as many of the natives, came away, not only for their security, but for more plentiful living: so that between the affairs of Feraigher and England, we had subject matter of discourse enough for a long time. His wife going out, I took the opportunity of asking him, if he could possibly introduce me to their lord's wife? He, knowing the story, guessed at my intention, though I told him no more than what was requisite for my purpose. He went accordingly to her, and she sent word she would come, which she did soon, with one maid only to attend her. I was a good excuse enough for her to say her curiosity led her to see a white man. Lewis and his wife withdrawing, and she saying I might freely speak before her maid, whom she could trust with her life, I soon delivered my message, and told her how disconsolate Rer Vove was ever since he came near the town: I found her, in short, as eager for the interview as himself, and she appointed that very night in a wood at a convenient distance. As soon as she returned home she sent her maid with some toake to me; which, when Lewis and I had drank up, I went with the good news to my master. And as it proved a fine moonlight night, we

soon came to the place assigned; though by going over a river, and through a plantation where there were dogs, and they barking, the owner had like to have discovered us; for the wild hogs often making great havoc in the night, they are very attentive if their dogs do but stir.

I left them in the wood, and went to Lewis, for whom she waited. He conducted her through a breach made in the palisade, for the gate was always guarded, and I conducted her to her gallant. Her maid accompanied her with a capon, some rice, and a calabash of toake. They embraced each other with all the passion imaginable; the maid, indeed, was for serving up the supper, but they had affairs of greater moment to talk of first, which we plainly perceiving withdrew, and diverted ourselves for some time as well as we could. In about two hours we heard him whistle, which was the signal for our coming, when we supped all together. Our bellies being full, Lewis and I roved about at a distance, and left them again till it was daybreak. "Now, Robin," says he, "we must do as the wild boars do, get a great distance from the place where they have been doing their mischief." So crossing the river again, we walked about till noon; when a man was to come and bring us some provisions. As I was looking out sharply, and listening for the token, which was a whistle, I approached him, but the fellow being silly, and knowing nothing of a white man, threw down the meat, and a whole calabash of toake, and took to his heels. As soon as he got home he told his mistress, that he saw a white spirit, and it ran after him for the meat, which he was forced to leave behind him. This gave us some diversion the next night, when she came again: a capon, rice, and toake were brought this evening likewise; and I could not forbear rallying my master on having patience enough now to sup, and regale himself with toake as soon as it came. When we had drank plentifully they bid us go and watch at a distance, and find out some amusement or other to pass away the night. And, indeed, had we not made

ourselves merry, and been as agreeable to one another as such an occasion required, the night would have seemed very long and tedious. We slept a little towards daybreak, and when I went to them they were not up; however, they soon arose, and took their leave too, by rubbing their noses together, and drawing their breath like persons who take snuff. After this they parted well satisfied for the present.

It was now broad daylight, so that when we attempted to go over the plantation the same way as we came, the people were up; and as we were both remarkable persons, he by his height, and I by my colour, the very seeing us at a distance would have been enough to betray the whole secret. We had no way, therefore, to take but through a thicket of thorny wood. I went first upon my knees, and beat them down with a stick, and my master followed. Though our shoulders bled in many places, which we did not regard at first through eagerness, and when we did it was to little purpose, for it would have been as bad to have retreated. So, in short, we went through; but on our arrival on the other side of the river, we stood still to look on one another, and perceiving how miserably our hides were scratched and torn, we could not refrain from laughter, though we were severely mortified. We still endeavoured to find out private ways, being as much ashamed now as we were afraid before of being seen. As soon as Guy saw us, he could not forbear smiling. Rer Vove told him, we had been hunting a wild boar, and by pursuing him too eagerly into the thickets, we got scratched in this piteous manner. "It is much more probable," said Guy, "a wild woman, and the right owner pursuing you too closely, you were glad to escape to the first wood you came at." Ry Kaley grew a little jealous too upon the occasion, but we laughed it off.

We being all met again, we proceeded to the northward, where the cattle are all kept. This is as fine a country as ever I saw, and the best stocked with all the necessities of life. These people never go forth to war, but

constantly employ the whole of their time in taking care of the king's and their lord's cattle: they have plenty likewise of their own. The king's cattle are marked with the stamp called chemerango. Here are such numbers of them, that it is not known within two or three thousand how many belong to him. Some of these oxen are scarcely able to walk for age, and others are so fat they cannot stir. They never milk above the fourth part of the cows, though the place is populous, and as large as some king's dominions. They have a great many towns, and many Virzimbers dwell among them. The chief town is of large extent, where the principal herdsman keeps a great court, and has full power and authority to decide all controversies, and punish any offender without appeal. When we saw him, he made as grand a figure as a king, and was sitting with his attendants about him in the same manner. However, he arose to kiss Rer Vove's knee, (not his feet,) as a testimony of his more than common respect for him. He had eight thousand head of cattle of his own, and near three hundred slaves. He made my master a present of five of his own, and fifteen of the chemango's. He seldom, if ever, goes out on foot, but is carried on a bier on men's shoulders. He is very old, indeed, having been cow-keeper to Rer Trimmonongarevo's father, deaan Lohefute.

Butter and cheese might be made here in plenty, were there but people who understood the art of it, for the cows give abundance of milk, though not altogether so much as ours do in England, but then they continue it longer; summer time in this hot country being the worst for the cattle. In this place, however, there are so many rivers, brooks, and springs, that they are never incommoded with such droughts as they sometimes are in Anterndroea. Here are tallow and hides too in abundance, but few think it worth their while to regard them. Several other commodities are to be found here which are worthy of notice: wax is so plentiful that it is thrown away; there is iron too in many parts of the country, as well as here, and the natives are no



strangers to the making of steel. Here is copper, likewise, of their own production, of which they make mannelers. In some of the most mountainous and inland parts of the country they have silver, and know how to make ear-plates of it, and mannelers: so that I have the highest reason to think the country produces it, as well as it does a white metal, much like our British tin, or tutanag; nor is there any reason to doubt that gold is to be found here. Here are many other things, but as I cannot give a satisfactory account of them, I pass them over in silence. But,

I must not here omit to mention the several sorts of silk, of which there is plenty in every part of the island where I have been. Some is of a brownish colour, others of a white; the outside is full of small pointed prickles; the cod or bag is nearly three inches long, and shaped like a nine pin; at the top, when we take it, there is a hole, out of which I have extracted a blackish worm; but I am not able to describe it, or the manner of its transformation, as the common silkworm: this I know, that there are no mulberry trees. The silk of these worms is found upon three or four several sorts of trees; for when they spin they cleave to the thick branches or body of the tree. I have seen the people on their knees, pull the cod out to a great length, which they tease to pieces, and then spin it with a spindle, made of bone, and a rock-staff; after that they weave it as they do cotton, and it makes not only pretty, but very fine lambers. There is some trouble in the management of it, which is all the reason I can offer for their making so little use of it. In this part of Saccalauvor, where the cattle are kept, is a tree called rofeer; which is of singular service to the middle sort of people to make lambers of. The leaf is like that of a cocoa-nut tree, but longer by two feet; they take off the outer part, and put the other to dry for two or three days together, which is then thin and white like a long shaving. After that they moisten it again, and split it into threads, which they knot in a very neat manner, and weave into cloth: some of it



is frequently dyed, and made into lambers striped. This tree bears a fruit that much resembles a damson.

After Rer Vove had taken a review of his cattle, and left behind him about two hundred of them, which he got by this journey, we returned home to plant rice ; for men of the highest distinction here look after their plantations themselves, and take care to furnish their families with proper provisions. He had not been long at home, before some business called him to Moherbo, and through Guy's artifice and intercession I got leave to accompany him, for I had a strong inclination to see the Englishman. He soon perceived I was his countryman, and we were more overjoyed to see each other, than relations are who live ever so distant. His name was William Thornbury, he had been nine years in the country. It was his first voyage ; for he was then a boy, who like me, was resolutely bent on going to sea ; but a hard gale of wind arising suddenly, drove their ship from her anchors, and whether some pirate was in sight, or what was the real cause he could not tell, but they never returned, leaving him with the surgeon and another man ashore ; the two last in a few months died with grief, and he was left alone. The king took what small quantity of goods their captain had left on shore, and sent immediately for Thornbury. He went, and his majesty very kindly told him he had no occasion to fear any thing ; for he would take care he should not only be supplied with whatever he wanted, but that he would, moreover, send him home by the first vessel. In all which he was as good as his word, nor ever attempted to make a slave of him, as Mevarrow did of me ; so that when we compared our hard destinies, mine was much the severer of the two. He went to the king's eldest wife for some toake, in order to treat me with it, which she readily granted.

I have already given the reader an idea of this king's person : as to his hasty temper and cruel actions I had heard much talk of them before now ; William Thornbury, however, let me more fully into his character. I found, upon taking in the whole detail of him, that

glory and ambition were his principal aim ; which he looked upon to consist in the wealth and prosperity of his country. For Saccalauvor was neither richer nor more powerful than other countries till his accession to the regal state. But he having expelled both his brothers upon his assumption of the supreme dignity, one of them, as I have mentioned before, fled to Feraighner, and got possession of part of the country to the southward ; the other, accompanied by about eight hundred men, passed through the fine country where the cattle are kept, and where the Virzimbers at that time resided, moving still farther to the northward ; and settled on that river which the Europeans at this time call Masseleege. The Virzimbers fled from him on his first approach, but finding that his intentions were peaceable, and that he was only seeking a place of refuge for himself, they returned to their habitations, and lived under his jurisdiction. Here he established a kingdom almost as extensive and powerful as his brother's ; which his son, deaan Tokeoffu is now in the possession of. Rer Trimmenongarevo understanding his brother had thus happily settled himself, sent ambassadors to propose an amicable alliance between them ; which he, being a good-natured man, readily came into ; hoping God, and his deceased father deaan Lohefute, would forgive his brother, and for the future bless them both.

Rer Trimmonongarevo now caressed some of the Virzimbers, and gave them towns on the banks of Mernee. He was very generous likewise to his own subjects, and made considerable presents, not only of cattle, but slaves to those who had suffered losses in his service ; but more especially he took all the engaging and political ways he could devise to tempt people from other countries to come and live in Saccalauvor. I have already mentioned his courteous treatment of the Feraighner people whose families had been taken in war ; restoring all the captives and cattle to such masters and relations as would come and settle in his dominions. By this means they are grown not only

vastly populous, but rich, and the people live in plenty as well as peace; they reverence and adore him, in short, as a tender and indulgent father of his country. But see now the danger of submitting implicitly to the arbitrary will and pleasure of any man; even though he has many useful and great virtues to recommend him. People by such means become slaves to the man who is not in every respect a hero, but attended with human frailties, and subject to passions less governable than in men of lower station. Superior greatness is his view, which explained, is advancing his prerogative beyond that of his predecessors, and showing that he can determine according to his own will more absolutely than any of his contemporaries. Absolute power is what all ambitious princes aim at, and thirst to enjoy it. This the world may see is the darling passion of the vicious great; and this was the misfortune that attended Saccalauvor; at least that part of it which was under the immediate jurisdiction of Rer Trimmonongarevo: for the other lords, his sons and nephews, were as humane as those in any other part of the island; but the authority he had usurped had made him so haughty and imperious, that to show he could act as he pleased, and was not to be governed by the traditional laws, when an ambassador or any strangers were at his town, he would order some one or other of any two contending parties to immediate execution for very trivial faults, and sometimes for none at all. This barbarous disposition, however, did not appear till he was sufficiently established in his government; and then several instances of his cruelty were too conspicuous. By these vile actions he lost the love of many of his subjects, who withdrew to live under more humane sovereigns. Some quite abandoned the country, and went to his brother's son Toakoffu; though they might have been tolerably safe with his sons and nephews. And this is the only remedy which these people have against arbitrary power; for they have no notion of a *jus divinum*, as we call it, nor think themselves obliged by the laws of religion to suffer any impositions. The

lords likewise have contracted a very laudable and humane custom of being extremely fond of relieving such as are distressed, even though there has been enmity before. This was deaan Crindo's son's case when he fled to Antenosa, and this very king's brother, Rer Mimebolambo's, when he fled to Feraighner; and to this generous virtue my own deliverance was principally owing.

I was one day in this king's presence when there was a crowd about him, and upon his coughing and fetching his breath a little uneasily, the people fell immediately prostrate on the ground. The reason, as I understood afterwards was, because not long before, in such a fit of short breathing, he took up a blunderbuss and discharged it among them without speaking a word, or making any other excuse, when he had thus killed two or three of his attendants, than "why did they stifle him?" I never saw such abject slavery on the island before; and yet to do him justice I must say he was far from being in all his actions and resolutions a bloody tyrant; for, two or three instances of severe executions only excepted, which he ordered out of ostentation, his other barbarities were only now and then the effects of his inordinate passion; which, indeed, grew worse as he advanced in years. It must be acknowledged that he directed corporal punishments oftener than were practised in any other country. Here was during my residence amongst them, a woman who complained to him against another for robbing one of his wives, who was her mistress; but upon examination the accuser was found a very sorry creature, and one whose ears had been cut off for a former misdemeanour. Some ambassadors being then present, the wicked wretch made choice of that time to accomplish the end of her malice the more effectually; for as the people expected a bloody decision, so it happened; yet one can hardly pronounce it was unjust though very severe; for after hearing, with a great deal of patience, all that she alleged, and inquiring into every minute circumstance of the case, he ordered the base accuser to be

carried off and killed directly. The person so unjustly accused desired to have the liberty of being the executioner herself, with which he complied, and gave her a sword for that purpose. She soon overtook the proper officer, who, seeing the king's sword, held the criminal while the other cut her throat. These are instances sufficient to show the virtues and vices, as well as the singular disposition of this extraordinary king.

During my stay here I saw William Purser, the interpreter, and several others of Feraighner; and among the rest my old friend Ry-Nanno, (Rer Vovvern's ambassador to deaan Crindo, who was the first that directed me to Feraighner,) came to pay me a visit. He lived as great as in his own country, having voluntarily followed some of his family who were taken prisoners.

Rer Vove was now on his return home, and my countryman and I were to part, which we did with no small reluctance; yet not before we had given each other full instructions where to find our respective friends, whoever should be so happy as to reach England first, which proved to be his good fortune.

Some few days after we were got home the two Amboer-lambo ambassadors, who were at Moherbo, being on their return into their own country, and passing through our town, Rer Vove prevailed on them to stay a night with him, and allotted them a commodious apartment, to which they invited me, and seated me on their own mat between them. Their curiosity, they said, led them to inquire after the manners and customs of my country in general, and of my own adventures in particular. I gratified them in the best manner I could, or rather so as they were best capable of understanding me. For as to the largeness and grandeur of our court, city, fleets, armies, &c., on all which I expatiated, they would give no credit to it, and looked upon it only as a mere romance. In my turn I asked them where their country lay. They told me it was a mountainous inland place, divided into two kingdoms, called Amboer-lambo which were governed by two

brothers. They had vast large ears, with silver plates in them that glittered like comets. I was very desirous to know how they came so. They informed me that when they are young a small hole only is made at first and a piece of lead put into it; when the wound is healed they have a small spring-ring put into it, which extends it by degrees, and after this another, till the hole is as large as they think convenient; then they place these silver plates in it, which are neatly made, and exactly fitted to the hole, with great precaution for fear of breaking it. Some of these holes in their ears are so large, that a woman may put her hand through it. They have several artificers among themselves who make these ornaments. The poorer sort, they said, who could not afford silver, had them of tutanag; which they call ferochfutey. They came into this country to trade chiefly in iron, of which they make abundance; however, they bring great quantities of silk likewise. Their vallies are very foggy and marshy, unwholesome for cattle, and not fit to be inhabited, so that they buy cattle. The mountains are so stony, that they have scarcely earth sufficient for the foundations of their houses. They told me moreover, that Ker Trimmonongarevo will not sell them any guns, nor suffer his people to supply them with fire-arms. Before the Europeans had stocked the island with guns, they were too strong for the Saccalauvors in deaan Lohefute's time; but this king is at present too powerful. They have (they said) a trade sometimes to Mattatanna and Antenosa; but not sufficient to furnish them with arms and ammunition. I observed, that metals of all kinds were commodities they dealt in.

Hitherto I lived pretty well; and indeed for about three months afterwards; at which time a ship came to Yong-Owl to trade. Her name (as I have since been informed) was the Clapham-galley, captain Wilks commander. Those who had slaves to sell carried them down to the sea-side. My master was likewise preparing some for that purpose; the thought of it almost transported me, yet I could not tell how to make my



request known. At length I made my application to my friend Guy, and having expostulated the case with him and his wife, I prevailed on him to solicit my master that I might be sent down and sold to the captain; he made the motion accordingly one evening in my absence. And it was happy for me that I was abroad, for had it not been for the mediation of some friends he would have found me out and shot me directly. As soon as I came to him he ordered me to deliver him my gun, saying, I was a prisoner of war, and a slave too; and he would make me know as much. As for Will. he was an unfortunate youth indeed, and was left by mere accident upon the shore; there is a wide difference between his case and yours. Upon which he called his cook; "Here, Mechorow," said he, "take care of this white captive; and see that he, like other slaves, obeys your orders." Mechorow did not fail to observe his instructions, and was the severer upon me, because there was a time when I had authority over him. He frequently made me carry an iron pot on my head, when Rer Vove and his wife took their pleasure on the islands in the middle of the river Mernee; where one while he would go to kill wild-fowl, and at another to destroy alligators. But before the ship set sail I endeavoured to inform the captain by this stratagem. I took a satter-leaf, which was about two inches broad, and a foot and a half long, and marked upon it these words following. Robert Drury, son of Mr. Drury, living at the King's Head in the Old Jewry; now a slave on the island of Madagascar in the country of Morandavo, or Yong-owl. I desired the favour of one who was going to the sea-side to deliver this leaf to the first white man he saw; but when he returned I asked him what answer he had? "None at all," said he, "for I suppose the white man did not like it, since he threw the leaf away; though I am sure it was as good, if not better, than that which you gave me. 'Tis true, I dropped yours, but then I pulled one of the best I could find from off a tree." My heart was ready to break at this disappointment; whereupon I turned from him,



and went directly into the woods to vent my grief in tears. I heard soon after, that Will. Thornbury was discharged; I was then in some hopes that by his means my redemption might be accomplished. But to my no small mortification I soon heard the ship had sailed, and not one word of me mentioned. This drove me almost to madness, and what could be the reason why the captain should take no notice of me, I cannot conceive; for Will. Thornbury, doubtless, would have mentioned me to him.

Not long after this I was taken with a violent pain in my bones; which at first I took for a cold. But it increased to that degree that I could not walk without crutches. This disease continued three months successively, and then I began to have large boils or blotches break out all over my body; my neighbours soon perceived it was the colah or yaws; and Rer Vove sent me to a Virzimber's house on the banks of Mernee, in order for a cure. They took the bark of a tree, of which I do not recollect the name, steeping it in water. With this they washed and bathed me every day, which in a few weeks made my bones much easier; and in a few weeks more the blotches died, and wore away; after which I recovered my strength apace. I lived with these Virzimbers in all about six months.

These people are almost of a different species from the others. Their heads are of a peculiar shape, the hinder part and the forehead are almost as flat as a trencher: but this I imagine to be unnatural, for it is framed thus by a daily pressure of their children from the cradle. Their hair is neither so long nor so woolly as that of the other nations. Their religion, likewise, is widely distant from other people's. They have no owleys in their houses, but pay an awful regard to the new moon, and to several animals; namely, a cock, a lizard, and the like. Whether they think these creatures have spirits or not, or demons that attend them, I cannot determine; for whenever they discoursed among themselves, it was in a peculiar language, to which I was so much a stranger, that I was not able to give a sufficient

reason for these particulars. When they seat themselves to their meals, they take a bit of meat, and throw it over their heads, saying, "There's a bit for the spirit." In the next place, they cut four little bits more and throw to the sovereigns or rulers of the four quarters of the earth. This is the constant practice of such as have any regard to religious ceremonies, but there are too many who neglect it, as some in Europe, and look on saying grace at their meals, as an idle fashion. They dress their victuals much more agreeably than the other people; for they always boil plantains or potatoes with their meat, and make good soup, and well thickened as they do in Europe.

They make curious earthenware, such as pots, dishes, and jugs, glazing them both within and without; and are very ingenious artificers in many other particulars. Though their ingenuity was superior, yet I could not perceive they ever formed themselves into regular kingdoms, or into large commonwealths, but herded together in towns; each town being a distinct and independent republic, which too often produced quarrels and bloodshed, one little town standing in opposition to another. There being no general law or government which could settle their just claims, or determine any unhappy dissensions between one town and another; till they in this part made Rer Trimmonongarevo their patron and protector, whilst others put their whole confidence in deaan Tokeoffu. There are more of them as I have heard, in other parts of the island, scattered up and down, who shift their habitations; which these were wont to do formerly. 'Tis no easy matter to determine whether these are not the original natives, or first inhabitants of the land. I observed here, that difference in religion was looked upon as no crime, nor any offence to one another. Moreover, that they, like the others, have no priests.

Having now in great measure recovered my strength, I began to reflect on the misery of returning to my former slavery; and for that reason, after some conflict with myself, I determined to run the risk of throwing

myself at Rer Moume's feet, to beg his protection, be the consequence what it would ; death being preferable to perpetual slavery. Having imbibed this notion, I desired my landlord one morning to put me over the water in his canoe ; for I would willingly pay a visit to a friend on that side, it not being above two hours' walk to Rer Moume's town.

At my arrival I found him sitting under a kind of pent-house, with his wives round about him. I laid down, and licked his feet, then rising upon my knees, I lifted up my hands, and sued to him for mercy and protection from the ill treatment of my master Rer Vove ; he having made the most abject slave of me, for only desiring a friend to beg of him to sell me (not to make a present of me) to my own countrymen ; that I might see my dear parents once more, from whom I had been absent so many years. My master insisted that I was his slave, his prisoner of war, though I was there no otherwise than Will. was here, a poor unhappy creature wandering about till I could find an opportunity to get to my native country, and was no enemy of his, neither was I taken in arms. Should you deliver me up to him, he would doubtless kill me, and there will be an end of all my sorrows ; but I live in hopes of finding mercy from you. I soon perceived that my mournful tale affected him ; for the tears stood in his eyes, and some of the women actually wept. He bid me rise, and be assured that he would not deliver me up to Rer Vove. "Should my kinsman (says he) want slaves to do his work (though I know the contrary) I will send him two or three in your stead. Be not afraid, I will both protect and provide for you." Then turning to one of his consorts, "Here Ry Anzacker," says he, "do you from henceforth be Robin's mother ; and take care he wants for nothing. All I shall desire of you (said he to me) will be to look after my chest of arms, which are a hundred or more in number ; and see that my flints and shot are all kept in order, and you shall have servants too to do the work." Then calling a slave, he gave him directions to build me a house

next to my mother's within the palisade. In two days I was a housekeeper. Ry Anzacker proved very kind to me, and I never walked out without my gun in my hand like a freeman.

In a few days after several messengers came from Rer Vove to Rer Moume. I was by when, in their lord's name, they demanded his white slave. Rer Moume examined them first, to know if what I had told was matter of fact; and when he found it was, "I am sorry (said he) my kinsman is so rash and thoughtless a young man to act after this manner. Did any one ever see before a white man a slave to a black man's cook-slave; unless it was among the worst of brutes in that unpolished country Anterndroea? It was a very unjust thing to force him from Feraighner; and when he was here, it would have been the part of a wise and honest man to have presented Robin to the English captain, and made a merit of taking care of him. In so doing he had done a generous action, and it would have reflected an honour on himself, and on us all. He should recollect the many benefits we have received from the English, and that we were insulted by all our neighbours, till they furnished us with arms. Here, take this woman-slave, and give her to him; she is able to do more service than Robin, in case he wants work from him. As for my part, I shall make no slave of him, I'll assure you; he may go when he will, and live where he will; even with Rer Vove, if he thinks proper; and does not care to live with me. However, I shall not consent to that, unless I am well satisfied of his being more courteously treated. Here, take the woman in his stead." They came again the next day with the woman, and renewed their yesterday's demand; to which he gave an answer in direct terms, that they should not have me.

I was treated here in a most courteous manner by all the king's wives; but particularly by my mother, Ry Anzacker; they taking great delight in the many stories I told them of my misfortunes and adventures. I used frequently to go with Rer Moume to a spacious lake

which had islands in it, several miles round, called the Kereendea. This place was formerly drowned by the Mernee's breaking its banks. Rer Moume was always carried in a vehicle, not much unlike a sedan; and had a canoe large enough to hold twenty men, in which was a seat made on purpose for him, he not being able to sit, as other people did, upon the floor. Several other canoes of ten and five hands, and some small ones of two, used to accompany him. Our principal employments were fishing and fowling; in which the Virzimbers are very dexterous, making nets of various kinds, and also fishhooks for angling, which was Rer Moume's favourite diversion. His son, Rer Chulu, would often divert himself with killing alligators; and the weapon he generally used was a harpoon, with a head fixed on it, and a rope fastened to the steel and staff both. Being thus furnished with tackle, they paddle along the water towards the alligator, whom they generally espy at a distance; for they keep their noses above water, and appear like a floating cake of cowdung. When they come within ten or a dozen yards of him, he sinks to the bottom, and crawls a good way before he stops; but his path is discovered by a bubble that rises up, and where it stands they strike; for they will lie flat on their bellies with their sides pressed out, where they hear a noise; so that they are often stabbed with the harpoon. Though should it light on their backs, or heads, it will make no more impression than it would on a rock. The Virzimbers make a net of ropes, with large meshes, and with these they sometimes take them; they also take them with snares made of spring-sticks, which draw up a noose in a rope; these they place at the mouth of a rivulet, or small canal. And by these methods I have known Rer Chulu and his company kill twenty or thirty alligators in a day.

Rer Moume made me a present of three cows, which calved in four months. He asked me why I did not marry? I told him I could not well maintain a wife, and that at present I lived very well, and much better than I could with a woman to provide for. He said,

it was not looked upon as decent for a man to live single; and as for her maintenance, I'll not only put it in your power to do that, but recommend one to you likewise. So as I perceived he was serious, I was soon persuaded; but with this proviso, that he should not compel the woman, but ask her consent, and leave it to her own choice; to which he readily agreed. So sending for one who was an attendant on my mother, he opened the case to her and told her she should be my wife if she thought fit; and bid her speak her mind freely; for he did not intend she should submit to it through any compulsion. But with an air of cheerfulness she said she approved of the motion. Upon this Ry Anzacker took her back again, to dress her up very fine with beads, and a new silk lambe, &c., and presented her to me. I desired that the prince would make a formal marriage of it, by taking hold of her hand first; and then asking us both, if we gave our mutual consent? And then by giving her hand into mine: all which he readily gratified me in, with abundance of affability and good nature, and was very merry; as the women were, likewise, according to custom on such occasions. The ladies attended us home, but not empty handed; for they gave us a large quantity of such kind of furniture as we principally wanted. The prince too gave me the day following a plantation with rice and potatoes, &c. growing upon it, and fit to dig. He gave me, moreover, a slave, a boy about sixteen years of age; and in a short time, he sent me with others to fetch away some cattle from a man, who, upon examination before him, had been found guilty of stealing several from his neighbours; for which facts he was fined twenty beeves. This was the first time I was ever sent on such an errand, though not the last; and people of the best rank are fond of this employment; for they never fail of a good present for their trouble. He gave me, likewise, a cow with her calf, and a young bull of three years old. Whenever I went on any such occasions afterwards, I never had less than one beast for my labour, and sometimes two; so that I grew rich and



sent most of my cattle four miles off, agreeing with a man to give him the tithe calf of such as he should rear for me, keeping three cows only at home for milk. So that now I lived as happily as the country could afford me; nay, so much to my satisfaction, that had I not a desire to see my parents once again, I question whether I should ever have taken any pains to get to England; and even when I wished for it, I was perfectly easy; since I was assured that Will. Thornbury would inform my friends where I was, and how the world went with me.

Some months after this, Rer Vove sent word that he purposed to pay his uncle a visit; upon which I went directly to Rer Moume, and told him, I was going for three or four days to pay my respects to his son Rer Chemunghoher. "I know (said Rer Moume) what you mean, but you have no occasion to fear Rer Vove; for he shall never have you against your will." And at the same time he persuaded me to stay and see him, which I did. After some previous discourse about business, and they had drunk a cup or two of toake together, he cast his eyes on me, and told his uncle he was surprised that he should use him in so uncivil a manner, as to detain his slave. Rer Moume replied, he was not conscious of keeping any slave of his from him, and if he would nominate the person, he should be instantly restored. "Why there he stands," says Rer Vove. "I hope (says the uncle) you don't mean Robin, the white man. Is he a slave of yours? I am ashamed of your imprudence to say so. Is it not to the white men, but more especially to his countrymen, the English, that we are indebted for the riches we enjoy? We, who formerly were insulted by the Amboerlambo people, and other nations around us, are by these Englishmen's guns made too powerful for them; and by the beads, looking-glasses, &c., which they bring in plenty, our late enemies are fond of our friendship and traffic. And don't you think it a fine story for Will. to tell, that one of his countrymen, who happened to be shipwrecked in this country, was made a slave of by a black lord of Moran-



davo? But to satisfy you that I don't treat him like a slave, he is at his liberty to go this moment where he pleases ; and take his wife, his slave, and his cattle with him ; nay, back with you, if you can prevail on him so to do ; and give me your word and honour that you will make him a freeman." After this manner he argued with his nephew, and reproached him with indiscretion as well as inhumanity, by treating a man in distress with too much severity, till he convinced him of his mistake ; insomuch that he desired I would come and see him in the evening, which I did. At my entrance into the house I licked his knee as a testimony of my respect ; but not his feet, to let him see that I knew I was a freeman. He used many arguments to induce me to live with him, and made me very large promises ; which, probably, he might have performed : for he was no vile person, but only too rash and inconsiderate. He also set Guy to influence me, if possible, who made use of one engaging argument ; namely, that Rer Vove intended to travel into the dominions of other princes, out of curiosity to see their various manners and customs. I told Guy the true reason why I would not consent to it ; which was that I was much nearer the sea now than when with them ; and that I did not question but Rer Moume would send me home by the first ship that came. After this I sat and drank toake with them, then took my leave, and was returning homeward, but Rer Vove followed me and desired I would never mention his amour with his kinsman's wife ; which I assured him I never would whilst I lived in the country ; and so we parted good friends. It will not be improper, I presume, to make one cursory remark here, which is, that this gay young gentleman was highly to be commended for so readily conceding to his uncle's arguments, attending to what he said with reverence, and being convinced by reason.

Thus I lived with Rer Moume as easy and happy as he could possibly make me ; and the only misfortune that now attended me, was my residence in a foreign country. But my hard destiny had still one melan-

choly scene or danger more to affright me with before I left this island ; and it was as horrible and shocking to human nature, as any I had hitherto undergone ; and the more so, because altogether unexpected, not only by myself, but by every one else ; which was thus introduced. There lived at Moherbo, one Francisco, an inoffensive man, born in the East Indies, of Portuguese parents ; but as black as most of them. He had lived here many years to his satisfaction, never proposing to remove from off the island ; he had been taken by pirates, who, at his request, set him ashore. This man, though a surgeon (as he said) by profession, had a mechanical head, especially to carpenters' and joiners' business, and had furnished himself with tools for his purpose ; and used frequently to oblige the princes and lords with making them chests, &c. Rer Moume sent and desired him to get leave of Rer Trimmonongarevo to come and make him one ; which he did. As this artificer spoke the Madagascar language freely, we were agreeable companions. He told me, as part of his secret history, that he was violently in love with a young woman, whose parents, though they were not inclined to the match, did not positively give him a denial. After he had stayed here nearly two months, and finished what Rer Moume had to do, he was dismissed with a generous reward.

When he had been some months at home, with Rer Moume's leave I went to visit him at Moherbo, and found him very ill and melancholy, his mistress in his absence having married another person, which he took to heart. He had made her several presents during his courtship, and received her promise of marriage ; which, on his ill treatment, he demanded of her parents again, and on their refusal complained to the king ; he being in esteem and always near his person. His request was rejected, the king saying, he would never compel parents to dispose of their children against their inclinations. Upon which, Francisco said indiscreetly in the king's hearing, that as soon as he was recovered of his illness, he would leave Moherbo, and

live under Rer Moume. I had been here but a few days before he began to gather strength, and then he and I went to the king's court. As I was standing by him the king cast an angry eye upon me, and asked, who that white man was with his gun upon his shoulder? Francisco answered, "It is Rer Moume's white man, who came to give me a visit." "Is it so," said he, "then I know what he wants. Come hither. What is your business here, pray?" I, being conscious of his barbarous disposition, answered in a faint and trembling voice, "Only to visit my sick friend." "Yes," replied the king, "your friend there, in my hearing, said he would go to your master Rer Moume, as soon as he was recovered, and I suppose you are come to conduct him thither; but I will spoil your project. Here, Mesoro," calling to the officer, "take this white slave to the place of execution, despatch him presently and bring his gun to me." The people were struck with surprise as well as myself; however, I was led out for execution, and multitudes followed me, some of whom desired to shake hands with me, and take their leave of me, which the executioner permitted. I was so shocked with the tiger-like leap which this savage brute made at my life, that I became stupid, not knowing whether I was in a dream, till I came to the place of execution, where I saw the bones of several wretches lie unburied. Rousing from my lethargy, I began to weep piteously, and to pray to God to receive my soul. What a shocking turn of fortune was this! that one who but some few minutes before was surrounded by his friends, one whose mind was innocent and free from evil, whose actions were inoffensive, and of whom no man could justly complain, should, in a moment, be doomed to die an ignominious death by the hands of a common executioner, like a vile malefactor, on no other account, than to gratify the resentment of an old, doating, choleric savage. While I was thus bemoaning my hard fate, and the people pitying my deplorable case, instead of falling on the monster, and freeing themselves and me from his tyranny, a voice

was heard at a distance, "Stay, stay, don't kill Robin." The words were soon repeated, and the messenger came forward with orders to bring me back; at which the people gave a general shout for joy. When I came before the king, not only his principal wife, but the rest of them were on their knees, with tears in their eyes; nay, some men too were expostulating with him, telling him he would bring irretrievable ruin and desolation on his country; the fatal effects of which his great grandchildren would certainly feel, when the white men should hear of his barbarity to one of their countrymen, who had done nothing to deserve it. This, at length, assuaged the heat of his fury; telling me I might thank my friends, or I had been dog's meat by this time. "However," says he, "I will mortify your pride still." "Here," says he to three men, "take him fettered as he is, and carry him and his gun to Rer Moume, and pray tell my son I expect he should treat him like a slave as he is, and not let him strut about like a lord, with his gun upon his shoulder." Hereupon, I fell prostrate on the ground and licked his feet, the people making signs to me so to do. Upon this he bid me thank his women; I then paid my respects to Ry Chemotoea and two or three more, and did so with all sincerity, for it was to their entreaties I owed my life.

We went directly on our journey, and every town we passed through, the people asked with astonishment, what crime the white man had been guilty of, that he should be thus bound? To whom my guard without palliating the case in the king's favour told the truth, for which every one seemed to pity me, and resent the king's ill usage of me. At night when we came to lie down to rest, they asked me whether I would have my hands untied or not? I asked them what were their orders; they said, "their orders were to keep me bound." "Then," said I, "though it is somewhat painful to me, yet you shall not hazard your lives for my ease." So I lay as well as I could all night, and the next day travelled in the same manner every now and then looking be-

hind me with fear, lest he should change his mind, and send some one after us to despatch me, for I could not think myself safe till I saw Rer Moume again.

As we walked along, my guards told me I was the first who ever returned alive from the place of execution; which I could not but impute to an all-wise and overruling Providence. They told me likewise, that he stabbed one of his chief wives, though when his passion was over he repented it, for yielding to an effort of nature, whilst his head was in her lap with intention to sleep. Another instance of his inhumanity, though attended with some justice, was, in ordering one of his own sons to be extended on a mat, and his throat to be cut before his face, for being too free with one of his wives.

We could not reach to our journey's end this evening by two hours' walk, so we rested, and the next morning we set out early and arrived safely at our town; where the people were all surprised to see me thus bound and guarded. Some ran before to inform the prince, who, before we came within his palisade, was sitting with his wives and several others round about him in great expectation. As soon as the men were seated, they told their message; I stood all the while with my hands bound behind me. After he had examined into the affair, and found how the case was, his countenance fell, the tears one while stood in his eyes as he viewed me with pity; anon he frowned with indignation, the women too shared in my distress. "And is this all," says he, "the poor man has been so severely used for? Robin, come hither, I will show you how much I regard my father's advice in this case." Upon which he unloosed my hands, and ordered one of his attendants to fetch him a fine silk lamber, which he would make me put on directly; then taking my gun from the men, he gave it me again; and made me a present besides of six cows. I told him the messengers had been very civil to me, for which he not only thanked them, but made them a present of an ox. "It is my father, I own," says he, "who has done this: for that reason I shall restrain my resentment and say little of it;

but had any other man, though a near relation, nay, my own son, acted in this manner, he should have felt the weight of my anger." My wife came and licked my feet, expressing both her concern for my ill treatment, and her joy for my return. This was about fifteen months from the first time I came to Rer Moume.

I was now possessed of nearly thirty head of cattle, and lived in affluence and ease. I killed a young bullock, and the part I kept to myself I flead, and salted after the English mode; of the tallow I made as good candles as I could. That part which I gave to my neighbours had the skin on, for we have the same friendly customs here as in other parts of the island, neither do their manners differ, except in the idle custom of the royal families killing cattle. Here they eat swine's flesh, and think it as good as other provision. Rer Chulu kept a pack of dogs on purpose to hunt wild boars, but they are not of the hound kind. Their religion is the same exactly, and their superstitious regard to unlucky days and hours, implicitly believing all the umossee tells them; insomuch, that numbers of poor children are privately murdered, who are born on an Alhaida or a Jumor, which are Sunday and Friday; for when I came on board the ship, I carefully remarked how the days answered with ours; and found that Alhaida was Sunday; Alletenine, Monday; Talewter, Tuesday; Alarrerbere, Wednesday; Comemeeshey, Thursday; Jumor, Friday; and Sarbuchee, Saturday. Though these denominations are used throughout the island, yet they regard no one day more than another, only as they imagine some to be lucky and others unlucky, for they have no notion of a sabbath amongst them. Rer Moume, having lost the use of his limbs, sent all over the island for the most famous umossees he could hear of, to consult with them for relief; they being physicians as well as prophets. One of them, during my stay here, confined him for two months, bathing, sweating, and cupping him to little or no purpose; however, he made him ample satisfaction

for his trouble, as he did all others who did him any service.

I lived with Rer Moume about two years and a half in all, at the end of which term, news was brought that two ships were arrived at Yong-Owl to trade. I was overjoyed to hear it, and flattered myself that W. Thornbury had not forgotten me. They stayed there several days, and slaves were sent to be sold, and guns and other goods were returned for them. I was at a loss how to break my mind to Rer Moume, hoping he would say something to me of his own accord ; but as I was sitting with him one evening, two men came in with a basket of palmetto leaves sewed up, and delivered it to the prince ; who opened it and finding a letter, asked the men, what they meant by giving him that ? “ The captain,” they said, “ gave it us for your white man ; but we thought proper to let you see it first.” “ Pray,” says he, “ give it him all.” “ Here, Robin, your countrymen have sent you a present, what it is I don’t know, but to me it seems of very little value.” Accordingly I took the basket, and with the letter there were pens, ink, and paper, in order for my returning an answer. The superscription was this :

“To Robert Drury, on the island of Madagascar.”

I was so astonished, that at first I had not power to open it, concluding I was in a dream ; but at length, recovering my surprise, and after a little recollection I opened it, and found it came from captain William Macket. The contents whereof were to the effect following :—

“That he had a letter on board from my father, with full instructions as well from him as his owners, to purchase my liberty let it cost what it would. And in case I could not possibly come down myself, to send him word the reason of it, and what measures he should take to serve me.”

Rer Moume perceived that my countenance changed



whilst I was reading the letter, and asked me what was the matter? I told him, that the captain desired to speak with me, and that my father had sent for me home, and hoped that he would please to give his consent. "How do you know all this?" says the prince, "can you conjure?" Then turning to the messengers, "Have you, pray, heard any thing like this?" "Yes," said they, "it is all the discourse at the seaside, that Robin's father sent both these ships for him, and more than all this, the king your father expects him there with your leave, and desires to see him before he goes to the ship." Rer Moume took the letter, and turning it over and over said, he had heard of such methods of conveying intelligence to one another, but never actually saw it before, and could not conceive which way it could be done without conjuration. I endeavoured to demonstrate to him, as well as I could, how we learned in our infancy the characters first, and then we put them together. "But," says he, "I presume you have no inclination to leave us now, since you live here so much at your ease; you have several cattle and a slave, and if you shall want more you shall have them, you shall have too as many wives as you please, and be a great man." I begged him to make my case his own, and that he would please to consider whether he should not be desirous of seeing his parents and native country, had he been absent so long as I had? "I think I should," he said, "and therefore I will take it into consideration, and ask my wives' advice about it, and give an answer in the morning."

My readers may easily imagine what a night of disorder this was to my mind, agitated with hopes on one hand and with fears on the other; however, I took care to attend him as soon as ever he was stirring, and seated with his wives about him. After he had looked steadfastly on me for some time, "Robin," says he, "I have opened your affair to my wives here, and your mother Ry Anzackar, and one or two more, consent to your going, but the rest are all against it; however, let them speak for themselves, it is out of respect to

you that they are desirous you should continue amongst them." Upon this, I turned towards them, and without waiting to hear what they had to offer, begged them to consider, as they were mothers, whether or no, if a child of theirs was in a strange country, they should not have an earnest inclination to see him, and he them? Hereupon the prince told me, if I was willing to stay, he would all along, as he had hitherto done, treat me like his own son, but he would not make use of compulsion, so that if I was resolutely bent on going he would dismiss me. Moreover, he told me, that my slave should go with me; that as to my cattle, they were mine to dispose of as I pleased. I replied, if he was so good as not to take my cattle from me, though they were in fact his own, they might still remain there as they were marked for mine; for I was fully determined to make one voyage more here, in hopes of having it in my power to make him some amends for the great care he had taken of me, by bringing a ship to traffic with him; (and in this I was very sincere, and afterwards as good as my word.) I asked him if he thought proper to demand any consideration of the captain for my freedom. He answered, nothing; but if my friends would make him a present of a good gun, he should accept of the favour, and call it Robin in remembrance of me. This noble, generous answer, and so prince-like, gave me such transports of joy, that I immediately kneeled down, and licked his feet with the utmost sincerity, as justly thinking I could never express my gratitude enough to this good, this indulgent prince. He would not dismiss me instantly, but did in a day or two after; and ordered the messengers to be taken care of in the mean time. When the day of my departure came, I had one remaining difficulty to get over, and that was the parting with my wife, the women of the prince's family, and himself, which I did with as much reluctance, as when I left my natural parents at my departure from them; and they discovered an equally tender affection for me, he would not, however, let us go empty-handed, but

ordered an ox for our subsistence on our journey, and appointed likewise two of his own people to accompany the other two ; and then we set forward.

I had yet one suspicious circumstance still to pass over, and that was to call on Rer Trimmonongarevo : this gave me no small uneasiness ; but when we came near Moherbo, we were informed that he was gone to a place within an hour's walk of the seaside. As soon as I approached him, he instantly made an apology for his too warm constitution, and confessed that he had sometimes done mischief in his passion, but hoped I would excuse him for what had passed ; and said he was loth to let me go till the ship was near upon sailing, lest I should prove detrimental to the trade. I told him, I had no complaint to make, since his son had been so indulgent to me ; and that if he pleased to dismiss me at my friend's request, they would take it as a favour ; but should he detain me, when they knew I was so near, I did not know what ill consequences might ensue thereupon. He kept me, however, this night, but dismissed me with his blessing the next morning ; praying that God and the demons would be my guardians, and send me safely to my native country. So I licked his feet and took my last farewell of him, and of this odd and filthy custom likewise.

When I came down to the seaside, the first man who spoke to me was William Purser, my old acquaintance in Feraighner ; he came away to live in more security and plenty, as well as several others ; and was at this time interpreter for the trade. Here were several houses, but such as the English call huts, erected by the inhabitants at a small distance from the factory, for the more commodious selling of milk and other provisions. There I met Mr. Hill, the steward of the Drake, captain Macket's ship, and two or three more of their crew, who took me for a wild man ; and in a letter he sent off by a canoe to the captain, he told him the wild Englishman was come. I desired William Purser to inform them that I could speak but little English ; and though by the conversation I had

with William Thornbury I had regained some, yet I was frequently puzzled for words to speak freely for several days. Captain Macket soon came on shore, and captain Bloom with him, for here were two ships, the Drake and the Sarah. I gazed at them as intently as if I had never seen a white man dressed before; and what added to the wildness of my appearance, was, that I had nothing on but my lamber; my skin being swarthy and full of freckles, and my hair long and matted together, I really made a frightful figure; but they soon restored me to my original form, Mr. Hill cut my hair off, and ordered me to be shaved, and dressed in a neat seaman's habit, light and fit for the country. The captain asked me what ransom was expected for my freedom? I told him nothing but a gun for a present, to be kept in remembrance of me. He thereupon picked out a handsome and very good Buccaneer gun, as also some powder, flints, and case of spirits, as a present to Rer Moume. He gave likewise knives and beads to his two men, and a small gun to the messengers who went for me. For my own part, I presented the captain with my slave Anthony. After this he gave me the following letter from my father.

“ To Robert Drury, on the island of Madagascar.

“ *Loughborough, February 27th, 1715.*

“ Son Robert Drury,

“ I am informed by one Mr. Thornbury, that he left you in health on the island of Madagascar, which I was glad to hear; my very good friend, Mr. Terry, hath a friend, commander of a ship, the bearer hereof, that hath promised to do all he can to get you your liberty; I therefore desire you to do the captain all the service you can in the country; and so doing you will oblige our good friend Mr. Terry, and your ever-loving father till death,

“ JOHN DRURY.”

About three days after I went on board; but the sea and change of diet made me very sick for some time; after which the two captains went to Rer Trimmonon-

garevo, and I with them, in order to settle some matters in relation to the trade. It is a general custom all over the island for the king of each place to make terms, and settle one universal price, to which all the people are obliged to conform; and this method is, doubtless, not only very commodious, but prevents all quarrels and disorders. They presented the king with a fine gun, gilt and japanned. I was the interpreter, and though I carried on the correspondence, my dress had so altered me in these few days' time, that he had no notion who I was, till upon inquiry who that Englishman was who spake so well their language, he was told it was Robin.

A few days after, there came messengers from Rer Moume, desiring the captains to come up the river Mernee, for he had a great many slaves to sell, but being lame he could not take a long journey; however, he would come down to the banks of that river, to a town near enough for trade. It was agreed that the Sarah should go, so they ordered a long boat out to sound before them; I went on board, and we sailed with a gentle gale, but could find no convenient harbour or road in the mouth of the Mernee; however, there was a convenient place for anchoring, in a salt-water river, about three leagues on this side; from whence the two captains and myself went up in the boat a considerable way, till a canoe took us in and carried us to the town, where Rer Moume with his wives and people were waiting for us. Until I kneeled and kissed his knee, he did not know me, for my behaviour and grateful acknowledgments for his past favours, he and they soon recollected me, and were extremely glad to see me. Here we continued five days successively, bought all the slaves they had, and agreed to send our long boat once a week as long as we stayed; and then they went on board, weighed anchor, and returned to their former road at Yong-Owl, where there arrived that very day a third ship, that belonged to the same owners, called the Mercury, captain White commander; he had eight or nine natives of Dillagoe in

Africa on board him, who lived very merrily; they were all freemen, and went with him the whole voyage, six of whom lived to see their native country the next voyage he took, in which I was with him. Soon after this a ketch came in, which was fitted out in order to cruise off the coast, and be serviceable in several affairs; captain Henry Macket, the captain's brother, was the commander of her; another ship was still expected, but she did not arrive till we were at Masseleege, otherwise called Munnongaro; they now agreed to separate for the more speedy despatch of business. Captain Bloom accordingly had his choice, which was to go to Port Dauphine, and captain Macket to Masseleege, where we arrived in a week's time, and went several leagues up a great river, called Munnonbauger; we had a fisherman for our pilot, who informed us that the king's town was but about three hours' journey up the country. The captain asked me, if I would venture to go there; I readily answered, that I would, and that I was not apprehensive of any danger; so the fisherman setting us ashore we went forward. Before we had gone far from the shore, the fisherman told me the king was gone out to war. Whereupon I flew into a great passion, asking him why he imposed upon us; he said the king's wives would trade with us. I told him, we did not want provisions; and as for slaves they had no authority to dispose of them. The man, however, prevailed on me to go to their town, assuring me that four white men lived there, who came from the island of St. Mary's. "Then, I presume, they are robbers of ships," said I. "No," he replied, "not now, for they have lived there several years; their names are captain Burgess, Zachary, John Pro, and Nick." So I walked forwards with my gun on my shoulder, and the man carried another. I had also several knives and beads, which the captain gave me to buy provisions with, though I knew how to live without buying any victuals, yet I took them, as thinking they would be agreeable presents.

When I arrived at the town, a man ran before and

informed the king's head consort, whom I shall call queen, that a ship was arrived, and that one of the white men was coming to see her. At my arrival, a mat was ready placed for me to sit down on; no sooner was I seated, than I heard the queen ask for some of the white men to be interpreters between us, and one ran that moment to fetch them. I soon convinced her, however, that I wanted no assistants, and delivered my message, as ambassador from the captain, saying, "I was afraid no trade could be carried on, as the king was absent." She said, "she expected him in a fortnight, and as there was a great number of slaves to be sold, she desired me to prevail on the captain to stay till his return." By this time, came in two white men abreast, making a formidable and hostile figure; upon which I cocked my gun, laid the other by me, and planted myself directly before them. One was John Pro, a Dutchman, who spoke good English; he was dressed in a short coat with broad plate-buttons, and other things answerable, but without either shoes or stockings. In his sash, he had stuck a brace of pistols, and held one in his hand. The other was in an English dress, and had two pistols in his sash, and one in his hand, like his companion; they spoke to me in English, with the usual compliment, which I returned; but Nick looked me wishfully in the face, and after a short pause, took hold of my hand, saying, "Robert Drury, how have you done these many years? My name is Nicholas Dove," said he, "I am one of the four boys who were saved with you when our ship's company were massacred in Anterndroea; and the very same of whom no tidings could be given in the conference between deaan Crindo and king Samuel." Upon this, I went home with them after I had finished with the queen, in order to know whether captain Macket would think proper to stay so long or not. John Pro assured me it would certainly be well worth his while; that there were a great number of slaves whom they wanted to dispose of; that the king, deaan Toke-offu, was a very honest fair-dealing man, as well as a great prince, and would



return in a short time, though not so soon, he feared, as the queen said. They were gone to encounter with a king to the northward, and about five or six thousand of them went all the way up the river in canoes, that were large enough to contain about thirty men a piece, with their proper accommodations in them, to make fires and dress victuals, and such as I had never seen any where else. I wrote a letter to the captain the next morning, and sent it by the fisherman, in which I gave him a full and particular account of what had passed. In his answer, he desired me to send some men to carry him up to the town on their shoulders, in a hammock affixed to two poles.

John Pro lived in a very decent manner, and his house was furnished with pewter dishes, a standing-bed with curtains, and all other things of the like nature, except chairs; a chest or two, however, served for that use well enough. He had an outhouse on purpose for his cook-room, and cook-slave's lodging, storehouse, and summer house; all these were enclosed in a palisade, as most of the great men's houses are in this country; for he was rich, had many cattle, and several slaves. Nicholas Dove, indeed, was not near so rich. In the evening came captain Burgess and Zachary: I soon understood that these were the sloop's crew, to which Arnold and Eglassé the Dutchman belonged; and, therefore, gave them the best account I could of their fortune in Feraighner.

Nicholas Dove, however, told me more than I knew before, viz.—That he ran away and got to Port Dauphine; that after the expiration of two years, he got to Mattatanna Road, in a large canoe, and there entered himself on board a pirate, that cruised principally among the Moors, from whom they frequently took great riches, and carried them to St. Mary's. This place having a good harbour, they made it their settlement and general rendezvous. It is a small island, but three leagues from Madagascar, in the latitude of 16 deg. 33 min. south; but as their ship grew old and crazy, and none of the Moorish ships, which

they had taken, were fit for their business, they being also vastly rich, they removed to Madagascar, made one Thomas Collins, a carpenter, their governor, and built a small fort, which they defended with their ship's guns; but here they led most licentious and profligate lives, stealing whatever they could come at, and ravishing the wives and daughters of the natives: living by this means for some time in a state of perpetual war. Upon this, I could not forbear reflecting that deaan Mernaugha was not so much to be blamed in ordering Eglise to be killed for threatening him; since he had, doubtless, a competent knowledge by some means or another, to what a crew of vile abandoned wretches he once belonged. Nicholas Dove said, they had not gone out a pirating for nine years successively, contenting themselves with building a sloop by this governor's assistance, and soon after left him and others, and settled here, where they had continued ever since. By him I understood that Mr. Bembo got safe to England; but captain Drummond was killed before he could get off the island, though the particular manner and occasion, he could not inform me; but they told me one remarkable piece of news, namely,—that this captain Drummond was the very man, for whose murder, and his crews, one captain Green, commander of an East-India ship, was hanged in Scotland; whether it be truth or not, I cannot determine. All I know of the case I have already related, and can only observe, that the time, the name, and the circumstances of his being here, where no news of him could be had for several years, give just grounds for the supposition. But to return to my history.

The queen sent me a calf for a present, and I in return, gave her a few knives and beads; I went to the shore with John Pro, to welcome the captain to the town. His surgeon, one Mr. Strahan, was with him. The queen entertained them as elegantly as she could, and mutual presents passed in form.

We returned that evening to the ship, and built a house the next day for the more commodious carrying

on of trade. The natives perceiving we were determined to stay, they built several others near it, to accommodate us with rice, milk, fruits, and other necessities. I went frequently up to the town to hear what news I could, but it was a month or more before the people came back from the wars; they came down the river in canoes, as they went up, and met with great success. At length the king arrived with the corpse of his brother, who was killed in the fight. He deferred his burial for nearly a fortnight, till he had settled all his affairs with us, and had given audience likewise to his brother's ambassadors, who were waiting for him.

As soon as captain Macket heard of his return, he came up to town again with a large retinue, and his trumpeter sounding before him. They went to J. Pro's house whilst I attended on the king, with whom I had some very familiar conversation, as he had often heard of me; in the conclusion whereof, he told me that he desired the captain's patience till he had sent for his people about him, and put himself in due order to receive him, which, in about two hours' time, he did; and then all we white men, as well captain Burgess, and the rest, as those who came with us, marched two abreast, the trumpeter sounding before the captain, having a crowd of black mob after us; the shells blowing, and the drums beating at the same time in the king's palisade by way of compliment. As deaan Tokeoffu well knew how to treat white men, he had ordered two stools for the captain and surgeon to sit upon. After the mutual compliments were reciprocally passed, I being their interpreter, the manner of trade was soon settled and adjusted; and then the captain made a present to the king of a gun or two, &c., and the king presented him with a slave, &c. He gave me likewise a girl of twelve years old, whom I sold immediately to John Pro. The captain had thoughts of taking his leave this afternoon, but the king prevailed on him to stay till the next day, in order to make his court look the more grand when he received the ambassadors.

Accordingly, the next day, we were seated in order,

when the ambassadors came with a numerous retinue, making just such an entry as Rer Vove did before his grandfather, when he returned from the wars. Some capering as they advanced, and firing their guns, and then retreating; others advancing in their places and doing the same. When the principal ambassador approached, he kneeled upon one knee, and licked the king's knee, saying—

“Tyhew an deaan Unghorra en Zaftana Lohefute.”

That is,—

“The Supreme God bless the progeny of deaan Lohefute.”

Others came after him, repeating the same words. This done, business was now no more talked of, but the remainder of the day was spent in compliments and drinking of toake; but our captain took his leave, and made all the haste he could to despatch the affairs of trade. The next day they sent down several slaves to sell, and captain Macket fitted up Burgess's sloop, and sent her to fetch the ketch from Yong-Owl; during which time, the Henry, captain Harvey, commander, arrived; a ship of five hundred tons' burthen. While we continued here, deaan Toke-offu's brother was buried, and all the natives shaved off their hair, which is the usual manner of their public mourning all over the island; and he who does not comply with this, is looked upon as disaffected to the government. When a private person dies, the friends and relations only do it.

It was about the middle of October when we arrived here, and the 24th of November before the king returned; but by the beginning of January, we had purchased more than our cargo of slaves, so we left part of them with the Henry, which remained after us. We sailed from the river Munnonbaugher in Munnongaro, or Masseleege, and arrived at Yong-Owl, where captain White was trading, not having then got his complement of slaves. On the 20th of January we departed from thence, and bid adieu to the island of Madagascar.

We did not touch at the Cape of Good Hope, but at St Helena, where I went ashore, and took all the care I could of the slaves who were sick. From thence we went to Barbadoes, where we stayed a week, then weighed, and sailed to Jamaica, where we delivered our cargo. The captain was not only tender of me whilst on board, but supplied me with money likewise at every port we came to, though by the little knowledge I had of its use, I committed several mistakes, which were subjects of laughter and merriment. As to liquors, I could scarce relish any, since I had lost toake, to which I had been so long accustomed. I was taken sick here, which proved very chargeable; but the captain sent me ashore, where, by his kind orders, I wanted for nothing. Whilst we were here, the Mercury, captain White from Madagascar arrived, but we were ready to sail with the fleet, under convoy of the Winchelsea, which was a forty-gun ship. On the 5th of July, we departed from Jamaica, beating through the windward passage. Under the Crooked Islands we saw two sloops, which the Winchelsea endeavoured to speak with, and imagining them to be pirates, struck his pendant, in order to look like a merchant ship, which deceived them so far, that the largest sloop gave chase, and hoisted a black ensign and jack; but finding her mistake, thought proper to alter her course, and stand in for the land again. Though the man-of-war could not follow her, yet our captain, whose ship was a good sailer, and mounted sixteen guns, did, and exchanged several broadsides with her. He stood close under the land, and as night came on, got away from us, but had the assurance to rob two of the stern-most ships in the fleet. Moreover, they threatened to tie captain Macket to the main-mast of his ship, and burn him, if ever they met with him again.

Not long after this we had the misfortune to run foul of the Winchelsea, which, tacking about unexpectedly, staved our bow to the water's edge, and carried our foremast quite away; the man-of-war lost his head and sprit-sail-yard. We must all have been inevitably

lost had the sea run high, but by good providence it was fair weather; so by the assistance of the Winchelsea's crew and some others, we kept the water out, but were forced to go back to the Crooked Islands, and they accompanied us, where by the help of them, and some other ships, our breach being made up, we proceeded on our voyage; and on Saturday, September 9, 1717, arrived in the Downs, after I had been absent from my native country sixteen years and about nine months. Here, by the captain's direction, I went ashore, he having first supplied me with what was necessary for my journey to London; yet did I not set forward till I had returned God thanks in the most solemn manner for my safe arrival, and for my deliverance from the many dangers I had escaped, and from the miseries I had so long undergone.

It may not be improper in this place to inform my readers by what a wonderful providence my father came to hear of my being alive in Madagascar. My brother was one day at the Crown alehouse, at Cherry-garden-stairs, in Rotherhithe, where William Thornbury was in the next box; and hearing him talk of that island to his friend, he said, he had a brother cast away there several years before, and should be glad to hear some tidings of him. Thornbury replied, he had never seen but one white man upon the island, and his name he had forgotten. My brother thereupon mentioned several names, and at last Robert Drury, which Thornbury no sooner heard, but said, that was it, and that his father lived at the King's-head, in the Old Jewry.

When I came to London, (it being Sunday about three o'clock in the afternoon,) I thought it improper to go in sermon-time to the King's-head, in the Old Jewry, the house in which my father lived before he retired into the country, but went to the Bell alehouse, (then the British coffee-house,) at the lower end, and desired to be admitted; assuring the master I was but just come on shore. He seeing me in a sea jacket, and hearing me speak in broken English, took me for a foreigner, and let me in; asking me what countryman

I was, and from whence I came? I told him an Eng-  
lishman, which at first he would scarcely believe, till he  
recollected me by the questions I asked; namely, who  
kept the King's-head? Whether John Drury did not  
keep it some years ago? He told me, that John Drury  
went to live in the country, and left it to his brother  
William, who died some time since; and that his  
widow kept the house. "How!" said I, "is William  
Drury dead?" "Yes," answered he, "and John  
Drury his brother too died about a year ago." This  
news so dejected me, that I burst out into tears, and  
afterwards bemoaned my hard fate before him; by this  
he perceived who I was, having heard of my being  
abroad, and of my friends expecting me soon in Eng-  
land. Hereupon he asked me, if my name was not  
Drury? I answered, it was, and that I had been  
unfortunate for many years; I was like to continue so,  
since my father was dead. As an addition to my sor-  
row, he told me, moreover, that my mother died with  
grief not long after she heard of our shipwreck, and  
that my father had married again. After sermon I  
went to the King's-head, where they soon discovered  
who I was, and were overjoyed to see me; and there I  
had a full account of our whole family affairs. I found  
my father had left me two hundred pounds, and also  
the reversion of a house at Stoke Newington, then in  
the occupation of Mr Richard Beardsley. I stayed in  
town till I had visited all the friends I could remember,  
and then went to Loughborough to see my sister, and  
other relations, where I met with a very friendly recep-  
tion, after they imagined I had been lost so many years  
before.

As soon as I had settled my affairs there, I returned  
to London. Captain Macket continued still as kind to  
me as ever, and said he would take care of me if things  
did not answer my expectations. He asked me to go  
with him again to Madagascar, but I had then agreed  
to live with a relation in the capacity of clerk, or book-  
keeper. After captain Macket was gone, and things  
did not answer as I expected, I agreed with captain



White, captain Macket's friend, who was bound for Madagascar likewise, to go the voyage with him, and assist him in the trade, which my knowledge of the language and customs of the country had sufficiently qualified me for. So having left all my effects in a friend's hands (except what I thought proper to take with me) I went on board the Mercury, and we sailed from the Downs, September 13, 1718.

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## AFTER-VOYAGE TO MADAGASCAR.

WHEN I was but a boy, I had learned the art of navigation in some measure by going to India, though I had lost it again for want of practice; yet, applying myself to a proper mathematician for farther instruction, I soon recovered enough to enable me to keep a journal, and give such an account of this voyage as may be useful to those who have no knowledge of the island.

On the first of April, 1719, we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where we bought such provisions as we wanted, and on the tenth set sail for Natal; on the twenty-ninth we saw the land, in the latitude of 29 deg. 20 min. south, to the northward of Natal, about eleven leagues off. We sailed a west-south-west course along the shore, with a gentle breeze; at noon the point of Natal bore south-west by west, about two leagues distant; at two in the afternoon we came to an anchor in fourteen fathoms' water, within two miles of the point of Natal, it bearing west-south-west. The current sets south-south-west and north-north-east. Here we traded for slaves, with large brass rings, or rather collars, and several other commodities. In a fortnight's time we purchased seventy-four boys and girls. These are better slaves for working than those of Madagascar, being not only blacker, but stronger.

Captain White put six natives of Dillagoe on shore here, whom he took with him the former voyage. They had two or three king's dominions to pass through before they came to their own country, and were under some apprehensions of being intercepted. The captain, therefore, furnished them with guns, ammunition, hatchets, and brass collars. Here I saw several humped cattle, like those in Madagascar; but the natives have short woolly hair, like Guinea negroes, and not like the people of Madagascar.

On the seventh day of June, we made the land on the east-side of Madagascar. I went up to the mast-head, where, discerning high land to the southward, I took it for granted that we were to the northward of Port Dauphine; the captain, however, not relying on what I asserted, hoisted out the boat, and sent me and the second mate in her towards the shore to speak with any of the natives we could see. We rowed along the shore a considerable time, till I discovered a small town, and some of the inhabitants looking at us; but the sea broke so much three or four hundred yards off the shore, that we dare not venture to put the boat in; hereupon I pulled off my clothes and swam. Two of the natives observing me, swam to my assistance, and walked with me afterwards to a point about a mile farther, where they go off with their canoes. Here the boat got in, and I persuaded one of the fishermen to accompany us. This place is called Murnumbo, about ten leagues to the northward of Port Dauphine. Here was a strong current and large swell against us. The next day about sunset, we anchored in fourteen fathoms' water, being unable to get into the bay. The ruins of the fort bore west-south-west of us, Cape Ramus south-west by south, and the point of the Seven Virgins, or Seven Hammocks, east. The next morning we weighed, stood into the bay, and anchored in three fathoms' water; the French fort bore south-east by east, the ruins of the church south-south-east; we were within a cable's length of the shore, on either side almost land-locked. However, as there is sometimes a strong

north-east wind, it is always best to keep a good anchor and cable without.

Port Dauphine is in the latitude of 24 deg. 50 min. south. The bay into which you must sail, is on the east side of the point. You must take care of a rock on your starboard side. Your course to steer is west-north-west. When you are in you will see the ruins of a fort on a hill, called "the nose of the port;" you must keep close to this point till you open the bay, and when the fort bears south-east by east, or east-south-east, you may come to an anchor; and, if you will, may moor your ship to the rocks. About two miles to the southward there is a false bay, which may deceive strangers; therefore, as it is a rocky place, great care must be taken.

I went directly on shore to the king's brother's town, and acquainted him, that we were come to trade, but were in haste to be gone; and, therefore, if they had any slaves to sell, he must despatch them down forthwith. And this pretence must always be made, for they have no notion of the expense that attends a long delay. Messengers were immediately sent to the king, who sent word by an Irishman, (who had deserted from one captain Ware,) that he would be with us the next day, and came accordingly. This prince's name was deaan Morroughsevea, he was dressed in a coat and breeches, and had a hat on his head. The first day was spent in the usual compliments, and making mutual presents. The price was adjusted the next day; whereupon we built a factory, and palisaded it round. The king soon returned, though we stayed here till the nineteenth of July. At which time the captain sending me with some presents to the king, I stripped off my clothes, and dressed myself like a native, with a lance in my hand. I think it was not less than twenty miles. The king was just going to dinner with salt fish, rice, and roast beef, when I got there. He very courteously desired me to sit down and partake of what he had before him; saying, all white men, except the French, were very welcome; for they had killed his grandfather,

and carried an uncle of his away captive. After dinner he entertained me with some toake, and a dram of brandy, and then dismissed me with some presents to the captain, desiring we would return as soon as conveniently we could, for he was going to war with Unter Morrow Cheroock to the northward, and hoped soon to have more slaves for us.

On the twentieth I came on board, and then we weighed, leaving four men and the natal slaves behind us. Here we purchased one hundred and thirty, and sailed with them to the Mattatanna-road; and on the twenty-sixth we made the Thumb-cap off Mattatanna, and came to an anchor within a league distance. Here is no going on shore in our boats, by reason of the great bar that is there, and the sea always breaking upon it; the canoes, however, came off to us, and I went on shore with them; and after that to the king's town, which was a great way up the river. One ran before to inform him that the captain's ambassador was coming: whereupon he put himself in great order, and appeared in state. He speaks English and French very well, and so do several of his family. He told me I was welcome. But as captain Macket had been before us, and bought three hundred and thirty slaves in less than twenty days, he endeavoured to raise the price upon us. I soon informed him, however, that I knew the country; and that if he had none to dispose of, I could tell where to go to market. At last we agreed, and I sent the captain word of what I had done. It was so dangerous going over the breakers, that I did not care how seldom I went. I did not like the place, for they were so harassed with a neighbouring enemy, that they were always on their guard, and could not sleep in safety, nor get even common necessities; the country being in much the same state and condition as was Feraighner when I lived there. The captain, notwithstanding this, was obstinate; and after he had sent me a cargo on shore, as also a man to assist me, sailed away to Don Mascareen, an island then belonging to the French, and about one hundred leagues to the eastward.

As soon as he was gone, I removed my factory to the king's town, as thinking it more safe. I often lent the natives guns and ammunition to repel their enemies, and once I went with them. I bought fourteen slaves in three days, but finding provision dear, I went more artfully to work; I agreed for the slaves they offered to sale, and left something as earnest in their hands, but would not complete the bargain. Here I had a scurvy trick put upon me, which I relate, that others may beware of the like impositions. One night, notwithstanding all my care, I missed two women slaves, who were fastened by the arms together. I complained thereof to the king, who, pretending to know nothing of it, ordered inquiry to be made after them, but to no purpose, till I published a reward of six pounds of gunpowder to him who would restore them. The man who sold them to me brought them again, pretending he had found the place where they had concealed themselves, and demanded the reward. I charged him with imposing on me, but not being then able to make good my assertion, he complained to the king, who threatened me hard in case I did not give the man the reward. I returned his menaces in warm terms, offering to defend myself with my fire-arms, as I had six ready loaded by me. What with tears and flatteries, the women confessed before the next morning, that their first master had injured me, and misused them after he had them again. I went to the king's brother directly, and assured him I would take care that no white men should ever trade there for the future; but in the end, he desired I would speak with the king first, which I did. He reconciled us before our ship returned, which was in the middle of September, and then without captain White, who had been dead and buried some time before at Don Mascareen. He went there to sell slaves to the French, and buy up others for the West India cargo, but there happened to be no call for any.

Captain Christal, who was then commander, sent one of his officers to assure me I might depend on the same civility and friendship as I had received from his predecessor, for he approved my conduct, and com-

pleted the bargains I had begun, and brought my slaves on board.

Mattatanna in the latitude of 22 deg. 15 min. south, is a wild coast, where our boats can at no time come ashore; these slaves, and those of Port Dauphine are esteemed the best in the island. Before we went from hence, I heard that deaan Morroughsevea of Port Dauphine, was killed in the expedition he went on, after I left him. Before I proceed farther in my account of this voyage, as I am now on the east side of the island, I shall take notice of the principal places on it.

About seven leagues to the northward of Mattatanna, is Melancaro. Here is a river with eight feet of water on the bar, which divides the two kingdoms of Mattatanna and Tronghe. The inhabitants of the latter are numerous and obliging, but cannot trade for want of canoes. About ten leagues from Tronghe is Maninzarce; they would willingly trade with the English, but as they have no canoes, and it is a wild shore, where our boats cannot land, it is impracticable. About twenty leagues farther to the northward is Mungaro; the natives whereof are always at war with the inhabitants of Port St. Mary's and the pirates. The king's name is Maulaunza. They have no canoes here, but if a captain would take some with him from Mattatanna, they would gladly trade with him. St. Mary's is an island three leagues off the main, in latitude 16 deg. 30 min. and has a good harbour. Here are about twenty white men, formerly pirates, who now live on their ill-gotten treasures.

Antogeal is in the latitude of 16 deg. 15 min. Here is a clear deep bay, keep the north shore on board. At the bottom of it, is a small island of two or three miles in circumference, in which is a good harbour. The Dutch had formerly a fort on it. Here are grampuses and whales, which the natives have the art of taking. Barimbass is in latitude 15 deg.: the inhabitants have canoes, and will come off at first sight of a ship. The king is very courteous to white men, and takes pleasure in trading with them.

Our next business was to go to Port Dauphine, where the death of their king was confirmed; we found the country in sad confusion, and in no condition for trading; so we took our men, slaves, and goods on board, and proceeded round the southernmost end of the island.

The country next adjoining to Port Dauphine, or Antenosá, is Anterndroea, where the Degrave was wrecked, and which was the melancholy scene of my captivity. Joining to this is Merfaughla, which lies a little to the southward, in latitude 26 deg. south. The want of canoes in both these countries renders them incapable of trading. The next port is St. Augustine-bay, in which is a fresh water river, with twelve feet of water at spring tides; it flows south-south-east, and north-north-west. Tulea lies seven leagues to the northward, and is a very good harbour.

As you sail from St. Augustine-bay to Yong-Owl, there are several little islands. The two first are in the latitude of 21 deg. about five leagues distant from the main island. A little farther is a single island with lofty trees on it; and still farther to the northward, there are three sandy islands, with breakers between them. A north-east course carries you clear and along shore, but keep in fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen fathoms' water. On the banks are nine, ten, or twelve fathoms' water. When you are past the sandy islands, the coast is clear to Yong-Owl. This is an open road in the latitude of 20 deg. 20 min. There is good anchoring in sixteen fathoms' water, not above a mile from the shore. There is no high land near the shore on all this coast, but there are high mountains up the country. Munnonhauger is a river which they call Manzerroy, in which is fourteen or fifteen fathoms' water. It flows east and west twelve feet right up and down on spring tides: you go up the river six or seven leagues to the usual place where they traffic. A little to the southward of this is another river, called Luna, to which a ship comes from Arabia once a year. This place is called Masseleege, or the country of Munnongaro,



whereof deaan Toke-offu is the sovereign, and of which I have already given a sufficient account.

Our business now was at Yong-Owl, where we arrived on the 16th of October; the captain went with me up the country to Moherbo, and took his musicians with us. As soon as I came on shore, I was informed that Rer Trimmonongarevo was dead, and Rer Moume succeeded him, and lived at Moherbo. I sent a messenger before me to acquaint him that I was coming to pay my duty to him, and had brought a ship to trade here pursuant to my promise; but as soon as we came to a town on this side Moherbo, we saw abundance of people pulling down a wooden house, in which the corpse of Rer Trimmonongarevo was interred; the reason whereof, as the natives told me, was as follows:—“That Rer Trimmonongarevo had appeared to Rer Moume in the night time, and asked him why he put him above his father Lohefutee? and he seemed to resent his son’s ill conduct, and ordered his body to be taken up, and put lower than his father’s, and his house likewise, which was erected for a monument to be levelled with his father’s.” When I came to Rer Moume, he did not know me in my new dress; I soon let him understand who I was, for I could not forbear to lick his knees. His generous and humane deportment towards me, made me esteem him as my father, and he was equally overjoyed to see me. His wives, likewise, expressed their pleasure. I went to review my cattle, for, according to his promise, he had kept them all for me; and as they were now considerably increased, I marked the young ones with a particular signet, for he insisted that they still are mine.

We got our whole complement of slaves here in ten weeks’ time, and sailed from hence January 7. We touched at St. Helena and at Barbadoes, from thence we proceeded to Rapphanick river in Virginia, where we sold our slaves, took in tobacco, and then set sail for England. On the 11th day of September, 1720, we arrived in the Downs.

Thus have I endeavoured to give a true and faithful

narrative of what I thought most remarkable in this island. I have seen the "Atlas Geographicus," which is, I presume, a collection of what has been written concerning this island. And though there are some things mentioned there, of which I give no account, I see no reason to depart from any particular herein contained, or to make any additions. I have related only what I saw, and know to be fact. There is an insect amongst them I have not mentioned, called the scorpion, a troublesome animal, and the only venomous creature I ever saw there. As to what is asserted in the "Atlas" before-mentioned, that the natives are Mahometans, I have read, since I came to England, some account of the Mahometan religion, but can find no conformity or similitude in it to this of Madagascar; on the contrary, Mahomet pretended to have familiar converse with God, but these people would be shocked to hear that deaan Unghorray, their Supreme God, ever conversed with the greatest monarch. There is one custom I have omitted, and that is, their abstaining from their women at certain times, as the Jews do. The Virzimbers, whom some imagine to be the first inhabitants of this island, I have said before, differ in some points of religion; but then it is to be understood in the forms and manner of their worship and ceremonies, for they have owleys as others have, and entertain the same notions of a Supreme God, the lords of the four quarters of the world, spirits, &c.

ROBERT DRURY.

N.B. The author, for some years before his death, was to be spoken with every day at Old Tom's coffee-house in Birchin-lane; at which place several inquisitive gentlemen have received from his own mouth the confirmation of those particulars which seemed dubious, or carried with them the least air of a romance.

S E Q U E L.

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VERY little is known of the subsequent life of Robert Drury, but that little is satisfactory both in regard to his veracity and respectability in his humble situation. On his return to England, he went in the first place to Loughborough, in his native county, in which town he had a sister and other relatives. He afterwards came to London, where he obtained the situation of porter at the East India House; and it is said that his father left him two hundred pounds, and the reversion of a house at Stoke Newington. His extraordinary adventures procured him much attention, and many curious persons were in the habit of calling upon him at his house in Lincoln's-inn-fields, then unenclosed; when he used to amuse them by throwing a javelin in the manner of the natives of Madagascar, who had taught him to hit a small mark at a very surprising distance. Mr Duncombe, who died in 1769, the translator of Horace, and editor of the works of his brother-in-law, Hughes the poet, had a friend who had frequently witnessed this feat, and conversed with Drury, a fact which is mentioned in the second volume of Hughes's "Letters" by Duncombe, page 258. Nothing farther is known of the life of Robert Drury, nor has the time of his death been recorded.

# A VOCABULARY

## OF THE

### MADAGASCAR LANGUAGE.

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## A

**ALL** *earbe*  
 alive *valu*  
 ants *vetick*  
 arm *vorecka*  
 ask *munganton*  
 aunt *l'rorvovvaranuke*  
 above *ambunna*  
 adding *tovoungay*  
 adorn *merervaugher*  
 advise *mearnorro*  
 afar off *larvitch*  
 afraid *mertorhocks*  
 after *afarrong*  
 aged *antichs*  
 agree *melongore*  
 aiming *munondroei*  
 age *antitch*  
 alone *carare*  
 altar *fesoronegher*  
 alter *youvoyea*  
 amaze *chareck*  
 anchor *tumborto*  
 anger *maluke*  
 angle *merminter*  
 ankle *pucopuke*  
 anoint *whosora*  
 answer *mungonore*

any body *lerhulu*  
 appoint *mermutore*  
 arm-pit *kelleck*  
 archer *permaulay*  
 arise *fuher*  
 army *tuffick*  
 arrow *anucfalla*  
 ascend *munonego*  
 ashes *lavanuck*  
 asleep *lenty*  
 awoke *mertearro*  
 argument *meanconna*  
 alligator *voarha*

## B

Body *jorzarmaner*  
 boy *jorzarloyhe*  
 brother *royloyhe*  
 basin *lerveerferuchs*  
 brass *sarber*  
 black *minetay*  
 bull *omebayloyhe*  
 brains *betu*  
 breast *trotter*  
 belly *troke*  
 back *lambosick*  
 beef *haner*

bird *voro*  
 belly-full *vinchy*  
 beads *arraer*  
 blood *raw*  
 bandy *sekearf*  
 boil *mundavy*.  
 broil *metonu*  
 boil over *mundroer*  
 butterfly *tondrotto*  
 blunderbuss *bosse*  
 bite *munghabecks*  
 broke *foluck*  
 buy *mevele*  
 broth *ro*  
 blow *chuffu*  
 beat *fufuho*  
 bullock *vosists*  
 bitter *mersaughts*  
 backbone *towler lambosick*  
 bad *rawcthe*  
 big *bay*  
 bald-head *scroluher*  
 barrel *brecker*  
 bee *ranatentala*  
 before *ungulore*  
 beg *mungortock*  
 behind *affarro*  
 bottle *folokuke*  
 bosom *arrongher*  
 beheaded *tompcluher*  
 bullet *baller*  
 bastard *sarray*  
 by and by *andreck anna*  
     *arny*  
 broom *mermoffer*  
 beard *somuchs*  
 breath *onygha*  
 bones *towler*  
 beans *antuck*  
 bed *kcban*

basket *harro*  
 ball *hechurch*  
 borrow *mungaborrow*  
 book or paper *terra toss*  
 buffuler *howlu*  
 bee-hive *tohoke*  
 bundle *mevorovore*  
 blind *chemerheter*.  
 burning *mundavengher*  
 bell *potchew*  
 belly-ache *merrawrafu*.  
 bread *mooffu*  
 bladder *tervenneer*  
 beauty *sengger*  
 baked *tongoffu*  
 bow *ranafulla*  
 bark *hulitcharzo*  
 barrel of a gun *cornu*  
 burden *enter*

## C

Child *annack*  
 carravances *vungember*  
 cocoa-nut *woernew*  
 cloud *rawho*  
 cold *merninchy*  
 calabash *varturvo*  
 copper *sarbermaner*  
 cat *chacker*  
 cow *omebayvovva*  
 cattle *omebay*  
 cheek *fawho*  
 crow *quark*  
 call *kyhu*  
 clear *merlu*  
 crooked *maluke*  
 cock *kuholoyhe*  
 capon *kuho vosist*  
 candle *charreck*  
 choose *mechutors*

covetous *mertete*  
 cotton *hawsey*  
 conjuror *umossee*  
 climb *munganeeher*  
 chest *sundoke*  
 coffin *harzowonger*  
 come *haveer*  
 cock crow *kuhumunganu*  
 chin *somo*  
 calf *anuack an omebay*  
 clout *seeke*  
 clean *merrere*  
 comb *morrotandro*  
 common or plain *munto*  
 coward *merwoozo*  
 calf of a leg *veete*  
 canoe *lacker*  
 change *mernercollu*  
 carry *entu*  
 creep *lomorly*  
 circumcised *mesorer*  
 cane *tangerer*  
 caul *sassuchhaner*  
 choke *bohair*  
 cream *hendro*  
 cannon *futore*  
 cotton-tree *zare*  
 chameleon *taw*  
 cloudy *merauho*  
 cloud *rauho*  
 cry *tomonghe*  
 cutlass *vearawrer*  
 come here *mehoveatowe*  
 civil *woocust*  
 come down *mejuchore*  
 come along *aloyho*  
 cartouch box *fitter pinner*

## D

Daughter *annackumpeller*

dark *myeak*  
 dish *ampondrer*  
 dog *amboer*  
 dry *mungetterhetter*  
 day *hawndro*  
 dirty *merlauchs*  
 drum *azzoloyhe*  
 drunk *woersekarfe*  
 dead *morte*  
 dripping *solick*  
 done *effer*  
 duck *cherere*  
 deaf *merreugha*  
 dust *lumbook*  
 dew *aundew*  
 door *varavongher*  
 divide *vackue*  
 drone *ferzember*  
 dream *munganofee*  
 dropped *larchuck*  
 dropped it *larchorho*

## E

Earth *tonna*  
 ear *sofee*  
 eye *moffu*  
 eyelids *volohreak*  
 eyebrows *volohondring*  
 elbow *hehu*  
 enemy *rassaloyhe*  
 eat *humonner*  
 even *merer*  
 enough *tondra*  
 ell *hanarlavver*  
 egg *tule*  
 evening *arever*  
 eight *varlo*  
 eighty *varlofola*  
 eight hundred *varlo-*  
*zaruto*

eight thousand *varlo arevo* fly away *tumeelingher*  
 east *teenongher* file *choffer*

## F

Father *royya* or *arber* full *fennu*  
 fence *faretschs* full moon *volormer autcha*  
 forehead *hondring* fright *mertawhoutchs*  
 foot *feendeer* fight *mealleer*  
 fruit *wooserarzo* fighting *mealle*  
 finger *tonedro* fire *ossu*  
 fish *feer* fishing *merminter*  
 fishing lines *tollevinter* flint *offovarto*  
 friend *lonego* flesh *nofuch*  
 four *effutchs* fox *foser*  
 five *deeme* forty *effuch folo*  
 fifteen *folodeemeamby* fan *fernimper*  
 five and twenty *rowafolo* fly *tumeeling*  
     *deeme amby* feathers, or hair, *volo*  
 five and thirty *tahufolo* fetters *parrapiango*  
     *deeme amby* flame *lellar*  
 five and forty *effuchfolo* flower, or blossom, *vonegha*  
     *deemu amby* fleshfork *fundrambahaner*  
 five and fifty *deemefolo* freemen *lovohitchs*  
     *deeme amby* fill it up *fennuyea*  
 five and sixty *enuingfolo* forget *hawlingho*  
     *deeme amby* flux *tonchoruck*  
 five and seventy *fetofolo* fry *mungendy*  
     *deeme amby* flag *floy*  
 five and eighty *varlofolo* flood *fororawno*  
     *deeme amby* fetch *mungolor*  
 five and ninety *seveefolo* fist *fettock*  
     *deeme amby* fortunate *moss*  
 five hundred *deeme zawto* fast *fortuchs*  
 five thousand *deeme arevo*

## G

God *deaan Unghorray*  
 grandfather *rozackloyhe*  
 grandmother *rozackampel-*  
     *ler*  
 grandchild *zaffu*  
 guinea-corn *ampember.*  
 ground *ton*



gold <i>volarmaner</i>	hog <i>lambo</i>
green <i>michne</i>	hook <i>vinter</i>
goat <i>osa</i>	horn <i>tondrook</i>
get up <i>fahavvo</i>	hide <i>mevonoor</i>
go <i>mundaher</i>	hyde <i>hulutchs</i>
go along <i>mundahanner</i>	hungry <i>homerserray</i>
garment <i>sekey</i> or <i>lamber</i>	hundred <i>zawto</i>
gun <i>ampegaurrutchs</i>	hat <i>satook</i>
girl <i>jorzorampeller</i>	hoof <i>hooto</i>
great <i>bay</i>	here <i>intcer</i>
goose <i>onego-onego</i>	hear <i>merray</i>
guinea-hen <i>congar</i>	hen <i>coohovovva</i>
guts <i>tenaugh</i>	hearken <i>metinoor</i>
get farther <i>mesorangha</i>	hot <i>moy</i>
grass <i>habbetchs</i>	hill, or mountain, <i>vohitcht</i>
give me some <i>mungay may</i>	head-ache <i>luhermungalelu</i>
give you none <i>chemung a</i> <i>may</i>	husband <i>valley</i>
give <i>youmayow</i>	hatchet <i>fermackey</i>
good <i>suer</i>	halt <i>tarehu</i>
guard <i>ambenner</i>	how do you <i>whosuer</i>
grow <i>metombo</i>	hunt <i>mungoro</i>
great way <i>larvitchs</i>	hole <i>lavrack</i>
gunpowder <i>pounday</i>	how many <i>fera</i>
not good <i>chesuer</i>	hoe <i>soro</i>
get you gone <i>meangor</i>	horse <i>suwaller</i>
garlic <i>tonegulick</i>	heel <i>hehu</i>
grindstone <i>sungherer</i>	hedgehog <i>sorer</i>
grind <i>sungheru</i>	hiccough <i>suecendrotch</i>
good while <i>ailer</i>	hive <i>metombozzar</i>
	hark <i>metinore</i>
	hammer <i>furnurore</i>

## II

House *trangho*  
honey *tentala*  
heat *merfanner*  
hail *avandrar*  
head *luher*  
hair *volo*  
hand *tongher*  
heart *fu*

## I J

Jar *senevolo*  
idle *merwoozzo*  
jealous *mermerrothhe*  
jest *somoneger*  
joint *sandre*  
I won't *zawho merloy*  
I will *atawuck*

I'll do no more <i>chemer-</i>	long <i>lavvar</i>
<i>nowquere</i>	lend <i>mungaborro</i>
itch <i>hauta</i>	lock, or key, <i>fungheily</i>
I <i>zawho</i>	lock of a gun <i>sophe am-</i>
iron <i>ve</i>	<i>pegar satch</i>
island <i>nosa</i>	long while <i>alelur</i>

## K

King <i>panzaccar</i>	locust <i>verloller</i>
kick <i>timpaughhe</i>	lizard <i>roso</i>
kill <i>vonu</i>	left hand <i>tongher avveer</i>
kidneys <i>woorhaner</i>	lean <i>merheer</i>
ketch <i>sumboro</i>	looseness <i>ohorawha</i>
knife <i>messu</i>	lobster <i>orur</i>
kite <i>perponge</i>	lick <i>lalouw</i>
knee <i>luhalleck</i>	don't love it <i>hallucht.</i>

## M

L	Man <i>loyhe</i>
Ladle <i>suddro</i>	mad <i>tounzaccar</i>
land <i>tata</i> or <i>tonna</i>	many <i>mawrow</i>
lance <i>luffu</i>	maggot <i>oletchs</i>
lie down <i>mundraer</i>	mother <i>ranna</i>
light <i>merzavvo</i>	moon <i>voler</i>
lightning <i>munghaluchs</i>	men <i>hulu</i>
lights <i>rabuchhaner</i>	milk <i>ronoonu</i>
look, or see, <i>merchinsover</i>	monkey <i>vergee</i>
looking-glass <i>hachoro</i>	midnight <i>mutungalla</i>
low <i>eever</i>	mouth <i>vovvor</i>
let go <i>ellyfoy</i>	muskmelon <i>wantange</i>
lie <i>mervanda</i>	mud <i>futuck</i>
love <i>taark</i>	million <i>arrla</i>
little <i>kala</i>	mosquitoes <i>moco</i>
live <i>valu</i>	morning <i>emerrawha</i>
lemon <i>voersarra</i>	to-morrow <i>hummerawha</i>
loss <i>lavo</i>	mead <i>toak</i>
leaf <i>ravven</i>	marrow <i>manuccover</i>
lead <i>ferock</i>	melt <i>tennoo</i>
lips <i>soneghe</i>	milt <i>arrachaner</i>
leg <i>tomebook</i>	mouse <i>varlarvo</i>
liver <i>attinhaner</i>	
louse <i>hough</i>	N
	Nail of finger <i>oho</i>

navel *feutch*  
 nine *seve*  
 neck *woozzo*  
 ninety *sevc solo*  
 nine hundred *seve zawto*  
 nothing *shemishe*  
 night *aulla*  
 north *avarruchs*  
 needle *fingihts*  
 no *charra*  
 nose *oroong*  
 nigh *merrcena*  
 net *arratto*  
 nettles *fundrozo*

## O

Oath *mefontorr*  
 one *eser*  
 old *antichs*  
 ox *vositchs*  
 oil *tongon tongher*  
 open *sucorffu*  
 t'other day *orertroung*

## P

Potatoes *ovemarme*  
 plantain *ounche*  
 plantation *tateck*  
 plant *fumbulayher*  
 pap *nunu*  
 partridge *hattacottoc*  
 pine-apple *mernasse*  
 pillar *ounder*  
 plumb *lomoty*  
 powder *poundey*  
 point *metrondroer*  
 pistol *plato*  
 poison *vorick*  
 prisoner *sambuch*

pot *velongha*  
 pipe *kelayhe*  
 poor *rarroc*  
 people *hulu*  
 pepper *saccavero*  
 plunder *mundraver*  
 pitch *leta*  
 pleasant *mertarva*  
 pirate *kindoc*  
 purslain *toyanomebaloyhe*  
 periwinkle *dedder*  
 pigeon *dahew*

## Q

Quick *merlucky*

## R

Rain *orer*  
 rainbow *avvar*  
 rammer *funhochuck*  
 razor *feharratchs*  
 red *maner*  
 rice *varray*  
 rich *manzarry*  
 rise *fuher*  
 rough *meraffu*  
 run *lomoy*  
 rope *tolle*  
 runaway *leffer*  
 ripe *mossock*  
 ribs *towlertahazuc*  
 right hand *tongher avan-*  
                   *ner*

## S

Sand *fasse*  
 salt *serer*  
 sail *loy*  
 son *annacloyhe*  
 sun *andro*

slave <i>anaavo</i>	sky <i>longitchs</i>
steer <i>rorvovva</i>	smooth <i>merlammer</i>
sugarcane <i>farray</i>	sound, noise, or barking of a dog, <i>mungano</i>
sugar <i>serermarme</i>	shoot <i>teferu</i>
sweet <i>marme</i>	shave <i>haharu</i>
star <i>versecr</i>	soft <i>merlemma</i>
spoon <i>suto</i>	smothered <i>settuck</i>
silver <i>volerfutey</i>	smoke <i>lembook</i>
scull <i>harrandluher</i>	smoke a pipe <i>metroher to- bacco</i>
shoulder <i>soroke</i>	shut the door <i>arradingho</i>
sleep <i>meroro</i>	sell <i>vele</i>
shot <i>berseer</i>	sour milk <i>ronoonumandra</i>
six <i>eanning</i>	sea <i>reac</i>
seven <i>feeto</i>	servant, sir <i>salamonger</i>
seventeen <i>folofeetoambe</i>	snakes <i>faundric</i>
seventy <i>feeto folo</i>	see <i>merheter</i>
six hundred <i>eanning zawto</i>	I see it <i>he tucko</i>
seven hundred <i>feeto zawto</i>	shirt <i>commeser</i>
six thousand <i>eanning are- vo</i>	seat <i>fetuaruc</i>
seven thousand <i>feeto arevo</i>	speak <i>mevolengher</i>
small <i>merlinick</i>	sweet-scented <i>maungetchs</i>
sunrise <i>terrack</i>	some <i>mishe</i>
sunset <i>soffutch andro</i>	speckle <i>wander</i>
small <i>oruff</i>	shake <i>mungozooner</i>
small shot <i>pottchuck</i>	stay <i>munding</i>
spittle <i>eva</i>	spring of water <i>vovo</i>
spit <i>mundorer</i>	spring of the year <i>sarrar</i>
south <i>ateemo</i>	spring of a gun lock <i>alle- soro</i>
sore <i>boy</i>	swim <i>lomong</i>
sour <i>mervoyha</i>	shame <i>manghetchs</i>
ship <i>sambo</i>	split <i>vaccu</i>
stink <i>manche</i>	small-pox <i>creer</i>
strong <i>merharee</i>	staff <i>zakharr</i>
short <i>fuher</i>	skin <i>hulets</i>
spirit <i>lulu</i>	side <i>tohazuc</i>
seize <i>samboro</i>	slender <i>merlenec</i>
shoe <i>hunghermaro</i>	spinage <i>orngha</i>
stool <i>feketrar</i>	
sick <i>merrawra</i>	

serpent *manerrander*  
 snake *mary*  
 spin *mundoroutchs*  
 stand *mechangonner*  
 steel *veoffo*  
 steal *mungaulutchs*  
 scissors *hette*  
 snore *mearoutchs*  
 sweat *lingetch*  
 sing *meansaw*  
 shore *tomeboho*  
 spit *fermerlarzor*  
 silly *mernay*  
 sheep *oundy*  
 spider *morrotongher*  
 stone *varto*  
 sink *tumborto*

## T

Tamarind *keley*  
 tankard *furnumerrauno*  
 take *rumbessu*  
 think *mevetchevetch*  
 trumpet *anchever*  
 thirteen *folotaluambe*  
 three *taku*  
 thunderbolt *apmy*  
 thigh *fay*  
 thunder *hotook*  
 town *tannarr*  
 thread *fola*  
 thorn *forte*  
 told *mungaborrow*  
 tears *rawnomossu*  
 tobacco *tobacco*  
 toe *annackinc*  
 two *roaa*  
 ten *folo*  
 twenty *roaafolo*  
 thousand *arevo*

thief *ampegalutchs*  
 teeth *neefa*  
 tongue *leller*  
 tie *fahaugh*  
 trigger *funghatchu*  
 tail *ohé*  
 land turtle *hachaffu*  
 sea turtle *faunu*  
 tall *lavor*  
 turn *metuleher*  
 tell one, two, &c. *mungesau*  
 tread *hechawho*  
 through *torawho*  
 thrive *munzarre*  
 take *rumbessu*  
 tutanag *ferockfutey*  
 timber *harzo*

## U V

Uncle *ranaloyhe*  
 under *umbonna*  
 udder *vorotchs*  
 ugly *rawtche*  
 vomit *mundoe*  
 uncivil *chewoocust*

## W

Water *rawno*  
 water-melon *woerzarvo*  
 wax *luco*  
 warm *moy*  
 wave *onezur*  
 wind *orughin*  
 wood *auler*  
 white *fute*  
 wild *mela.apo*  
 what *eno*  
 what's this *eno toey*

what's the matter *eno zow* weave *mernendru*  
 what are you doing *eno* wet *lay*

*tough now*

wadding *huet*  
 west *andreffer*  
 wood for firing *hatoy*  
 wonder *cherrec*  
 work *mearsar*  
 wife *walley*  
 weary *mc zoutchs*

white man *verzarhar*

wide *mertarcheths*

whisper *bisabise*

wasp *fundroso*

wrist *soro*

wise *merhehitchs*

winter *fouser*

whistle *fuke*

Y

Yam *ove*  
 years *color*  
 year *taough*  
 yes *toquore*  
 yonder *aruea*  
 yesterday *umorla*

DAYS OF THE WEEK.

Sunday *Alhaida*  
 Monday *Alletenine*  
 Tuesday *Talorter*  
 Wednesday *Alarrerbeer*  
 Thursday *Commeeske*  
 Friday *Jumor*  
 Saturday *Sarbusche*.









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